The Outlook

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A NEW FEATURE

Beginning with the new year we shall print weekly an Outline Study of Current History. The basis of this study in each issue will be the preceding issue of The Outlook.

The purpose of this outline study will be:

1. To aid teachers of current history and of English in schools and colleges.

2. To provide a list of topics for discussion in current events clubs, reading and study groups, and similar organizations of men and women.

3. To afford a guide for discussion in every family where there is a desire to develop interest in significant events of the times.

4. To suggest to individual readers lines which they can follow in a critical examination of The Outlook's record of current history.

These topics will be selected and accompanying questions will be framed with a view to a critical examination, not only of the current history, but also of The Outlook's own opinions and its interpretation of what it records.

In order that this may be done objectively and without bias, we have asked Mr. J. Madison Gathany, who is in charge of the History Department of the Hope Street High School, Providence, Rhode Island, and for a number of years has been supervising teacher in the High School Training Department of Providence, to prepare this weekly Outline Study of Current History.

In a self-governing country it is essential that all citizens—boys and girls, men and women—should not only know what things are happening in the world about them, but should have the power of forming intelligent opinions about those happenings. They will never, however, learn what are the significant things that are happening by picking up the knowledge here and there or getting information in scrap-book fashion. They can learn what these things are only from a definite, coherent account. And they can form no opinion about them if the information is given to them in a colorless, dry-as-dust way. They can form their opinion only by seeing those happenings put in relation to great principles, and by examining critically some opinion concerning the events they read about.

No one, whether boy or girl at school or adult citizen, is interested in having his mind stuffed with a mass of facts. Nothing will more quickly kill interest in current events than to make them the subject of a mere memorizing exercise. Cæsar's Gallic campaigns have been made dull to many a student by stupid methods. The present European war can be made equally dull by the same methods. So can every significant event. To study current history without forming any opinion about it is to subject one's self to needless boredom.

It is because The Outlook has convictions that Mr. Gathany, like many other teachers, has used it in his classes in current history. This is not because he wants his pupils to accept The Outlook's opinions; in fact, he repeatedly encourages his pupils to question them and to be free in presenting arguments against such opinions. Indeed, they will often find arguments against The Outlook's opinions in articles by contributors in its own pages.

Harmful as it is to try to stuff facts into the mind of an unresponsive pupil, it is equally harmful to try to force an opinion upon it. What Mr. Gathany will do is to make The Outlook's coherent account of current history the basis of study and lead his pupils to examine and question what The Outlook says about the meaning of the events, and thus to form opinions of their own. And what Mr. Gathany has been doing for his pupils he will do

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for every reader of The Outlook by his list of topics and questions in the weekly study of current history.

The Outlook for January 3, 1917 (the first number to appear in the new form), will be the first issue to be made the subject of this study. In that number Mr. Gathany will explain his method; and in the succeeding number (the issue for January 10) will appear the outline study for January 3.—THE EDITORS

THE WEEK

THE STORY OF THE WAR

We discuss the two great war events of the week—Germany's proposal to enter into peace negotiations and the Cabinet reconstruction in England and France—in two editorials in this issue.

Apart from unauthorized speculation as to the terms which Germany might propose at such a conference, the facts as to Germany's new move are these: On Tuesday, December 12, the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, announced in the Reichstag that, in union with the Governments of Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, Germany, through its Chancellor, had handed to the diplomatic representatives in Berlin of Spain, Switzerland, and the United States identic notes to be transmitted to their Governments, and through them to the Governments of the nations hostile to Germany. The three nations were selected because their representatives are looking after the interests of subjects of the Central Powers in hostile countries. The identic note in substance is a proposal for a peace conference, and if it is accompanied by specific terms of peace it is not known what they are. That the note names specific terms is inferred from the Chancellor's statement: "The four allied [Central] Powers propose to enter forthwith on peace negotiations. The propositions which they bring for such negotiations . . . are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace."

The note is somewhat vague in its wording, and some of its phrases will strike many readers who are not partisans of Germany as grandiloquent. It declares that Germany's aim is not to annihilate its adversaries, but that Germany is ready to continue "the war forced upon us." Reference is made to the recent events in the Balkans, to the expectation of further successes, and to the power of Germany "to continue to a victorious end," disclaiming responsibility to humanity and the world if the proposal is rejected.

The Chancellor enlarged on the note in his speech, going into details as to German claims of military success, and even saying, "To these great events on land heroic deeds of equal importance are added by our submarines"! Compressed into a few words, the note itself and the Chancellor's exposition merely say that Germany is ready to fight on, but, assuming that German arms are triumphant, believes that the time has come for the nations to confer about terms of peace.

The terms which have been mentioned in press dispatches from Washington as those which are said to be regarded as probable for Germany to offer, in the opinion of "persons close to the German Embassy," are as follows:

1. Complete restoration of Belgium.
2. Evacuation by Germany of all territory captured in northern France.
3. Establishment of Poland and Lithuania as independent kingdoms.
4. Restoration to Austria of territory captured by Italy in the neighborhood of the Adriatic Sea.
5. Restoration to Germany of all her colonial possessions.
6. Retention of Constantinople by Turkey.
7. Retention of Serbia by Austria-Hungary and the restoration to Bulgaria of all territory lost by that country in the second Balkan War.

Intelligent discussion of Germany's terms of peace is of course impossible until they are made known officially. All that can be discussed is the situation created by Germany's offer to negotiate. It is to this that we confine the editorial discussion on another page.

WHAT RUMANIA IS FACING

If the despatches from Berlin and Sofia are anything like accurate, the Rumanian army in itself is not now in much better condition than the Serbian army after the Austro-German drive through Serbia. Last week's despatches from Berlin claim that the total losses of the Rumanians in this war up to December 11 have been 250,000 killed or wounded and 150,000 prisoners, while 600 large guns are reported captured, and the

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amount of ammunition, grain, petroleum, and other supplies is described as enormous.

With all due discount for partisan exaggeration, the Rumanian loss has undoubtedly been great. The news of the week included the statement that the section of the Rumanian army which was cut off in extreme western Rumania (or Little Wallachia) in and about Orsova had in large part surrendered.

What is left of the main Rumanian army has succeeded in getting so far northward in eastern Rumania as to make its connection with the Russian armies moving from the north complete, and it is from the joint effort of Russian and Rumanian armies in Moldavia that resistance or future advance is to be expected. The German forces have crossed the Danube in two or three places, have taken possession of the ground west of the Cernavoda bridge, and have occupied all railways and principal points, such as Ploesci, in southern and western Rumania.

DOUBLE DEALING IN GREECE

The Greek situation continues to be critical. Despatches from London predict that King Constantine will be deposed, Venizelos put in charge of the Greek Government, and the Greek army disarmed. This is pure speculation, but it is true that the subjects of the Allies' Governments have been notified to leave Athens, and most of them have done so. Viscount Grey, until last week British Foreign Secretary, has made for the press an authorized statement of the history of King Constantine's dealings with the Allies, in which he says :

> The unconstitutional behavior of King Constantine, his refusal to abide by the terms of the Greek treaty with Serbia, and the flouting of the decisions of M. Venizelos and his Parliamentary majority hardly admit of denial even by the Germans themselves, who content themselves with saying that he [the King] acted for what he believed to be the best interests of his country.

Greece voluntarily promised " benevolent neutrality " toward the Allies ; it promised to give certain war material to the Allies to balance that which it had given Bulgaria by " the prearranged surrender of Fort Rupel and Kavala." These and other promises were broken and the forces of the Allies were treacherously attacked in Athens. If Germany had been in the place of Great Britain or France, the King would long since have been coerced and rendered harmless.

LIBERTY VERSUS COMFORT IN BELGIUM

Indignation at the German deportation of the Belgian workers will not down ; from every side come protests. Ours, among other governments, has sent what it calls a formal protest. It consisted of a note cabled to Mr. Grew, our Chargé at Berlin in the absence of our Ambassador, with instructions to Mr. Grew to read the note to the German Chancellor.

This seems to be a cross between the old and somewhat outworn method of the Administration in note-writing and that of a verbal lecture. In this communication our Government protested solemnly in a friendly spirit against the deportation as " in contravention of all precedents and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants."

A reply has been made by the German Government, which in substance asserts that there are 1,250,000 people suffering in Belgium because of the lack of work, that idleness was causing demoralization, that those who have gone to Germany are " happy and contented " (which a large body of evidence shows to be a straight-out falsehood), and that the deportation has been carried out in a humane and kindly way.

That Germany suggests peace while she is deporting Belgians in this wholesale fashion indicates that not even two and a half years of war have taught her to what lengths of sacrifice a liberty-loving people will go to defend their freedom.

PRINCE OYAMA

With the death of Prince Oyama passes one of the great figures of the Russo-Japanese War. He had been a man of influence in Japan for thirty years or more before the war of 1894 between China and Japan. It was for his services in this war, culminating in the capture of Port Arthur and Weihaiwei, that he was made marquis and field marshal by the Emperor. In the war with Russia Oyama was commander-in-chief of the Japanese army in Manchuria, and after that war he was made a prince. He came of a race of warriors, the Satsumas, and was prominent in the political revolution which in 1868 restored to power the father of the present Emperor.

In order to give our readers an impression

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of the individual traits of Oyama, we take the liberty of quoting from a personal letter written by Mr. George Kennan, who, as our readers know, was the representative of The Outlook in Japan during the war with Russia:

It was the general understanding in Japan that he was a stern, despotic Samurai of the mediæval Japanese type; a man of strong character and an indomitable fighter, but not a skillful military leader in the modern sense of the words. He was greatly respected and feared by his soldiers, but he did not direct their movements nor "prearrange" their victories. It would not be quite accurate to call him an imposing, awe-inspiring Samurai figurehead, because he was more than that; but he was not the strategist who planned the Manchurian campaigns. The thinking mind in the battles of Liaoyang, the Shaho, and Mukden was that of General Kodama; but Field Marshal Oyama got most of the credit, partly because he was the nominal head of the army, and partly because he really was in character an immovable rock of strength. You perhaps know men whose mere presence gives you a feeling of power and security. They may not be intellectually brilliant or resourceful, but they cannot be surprised or shaken or terrified. They are the captains of their own souls and of yours. Oyama, from what I heard of him, was a man of this type.

Princess Oyama, his wife, was one of the first young women sent from Japan to the United States for an education. She was graduated from Vassar in 1882.

PROGRESSIVES IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

One of the most marked aspects of the recent election was, as we have already pointed out, the very general success of progressive candidates, irrespective of party affiliations. Progressive Republicans and former Progressives who during the campaign were affiliated with the Republican party are undertaking a movement to make the Republican party progressive in organization. One plan outlined last week by Mr. Chester H. Rowell, of California, involves four methods.

The first is to attempt to put throughout the country Progressive-Republican candidates on Progressive-Republican platforms or programmes before the voters in the Republican primaries, and to back such candidates up. This effort, if successful, will lay in the popular vote a foundation for a thoroughly progressive organization of the Republican party.

The second method is to attempt to improve the administrative side of the Republican party by continuing as an active committee the party's Executive Committee, which during the campaign consisted of ten regular Republicans and six Progressives.

The third method is to attempt to reapportion the delegates to the National Convention so that States which are not naturally Republican will no longer have the disproportionate influence that they have had, to the demoralization at times of the whole party.

The fourth method is to attempt to render the members of the National Committee subject to their respective State committees, so that the Committee itself will be more responsive to the will of the Republican voters than it has been heretofore.

How far this plan has been accepted we do not know; but it suggests the sort of practical politics into which men who really wish to improve political conditions in this country ought to enter.

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS FOR WEST POINT AND ANNAPOLIS

The most interesting part of the first annual report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Newton D. Baker, is his advocacy of a change in the educational systems of West Point and Annapolis.

Secretary Baker intimates that the present system of choosing students for West Point and Annapolis—the system consisting of "designation by the President, Senators, and Representatives, with examination as a prerequisite to acceptance"—is not adequate for the need of "a nation efficiently organized from a military point of view."

The Secretary of War suggests that the Federal Government establish throughout the country a number of schools "in which the rudiments of a sound education, the elements of mechanical skill, the principles of business co-ordination, and the beginnings of military science" should be taught. Such schools, the Secretary thinks, "would develop the natural aptitudes of the students in such a way as to supply those fittest by temperament and talent to pursue in the Military Academy and Naval Academy the study of military science; and incidentally these schools would furnish a great body of men returning to civil life fitted by training either to respond in an emergency to a call to the colors or to take their places as civil soldiers in the service of the Government in those industries and undertakings fundamental to

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the successful conduct of military operations."

This suggestion is somewhat similar to one made more than a year ago by Commodore R. G. Denig, and reported in The Outlook. Commodore Denig advocated the establishment of a preparatory school to serve both West Point and Annapolis, and to have a one-year course which would be the equivalent of the first year of training at the two National Academies. Such a course, Commodore Denig pointed out, would weed out the unfit who now to some extent cumber the entering classes at West Point and Annapolis.

Secretary Baker's proposal is much more comprehensive than the suggestion of Commodore Denig in that it would build up a larger reserve of men. The question has been raised whether the ends that Secretary Baker has in view would not be more economically reached by the development of military training in schools already existing. The subject deserves wide discussion.

GENERAL SCOTT'S PROPOSALS

It seems to us, however, that the principal objection to Secretary Baker's scheme is that it does not go far enough. The reform which goes the whole way, and one which we have long advocated, was outlined by Major-General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, in his annual report made public the day after Secretary Baker's report was issued. This reform is universal military training, and General Scott gives it his unqualified indorsement.

Among army men General Scott has never been considered a militarist. All the more, therefore, should the General's arraignment of the volunteer system be taken to heart by every one who thinks that that system will still suffice for this Republic. After calling attention to the fact that several months after a call for recruits in a grave National emergency was issued many of the organizations of the National Guard have not yet "been raised even to minimum peace strength, and likewise the units of the regular army have not been recruited to the minimum peace strength authorized in the new National Defense Act," General Scott goes on to say that this failure "should make the whole people realize that the volunteer system does not, and probably will not, give us either the men we need for training in peace or for service in war.

"In my judgment," says General Scott, "the country will never be prepared for defense until we do as other great nations do that have large interests to guard. . . .

"There is no reason why one woman's son should go out and defend or be trained to defend another woman and her son who refuses to take training or give service. The only democratic method is for every man in his youth to become trained in order that he may render efficient service if called upon in war."

General Scott asserts that universal military training "has been the corner-stone" of every republic in the history of the world, and that it was intended by the makers of our Constitution to be a part of our system, but that their intentions were frustrated by the growth of the doctrine of States' rights. The Chief of Staff thinks that "we have fallen away from the teaching of the fathers," who held that "every man owes a military as well as a civil obligation to his Government." General Scott believes that military training would benefit the youth and his parents as well as the country.

To prove that the Hay National Guard system has been a failure, General Scott cites figures showing that on July 31, 1916, there were 151,096 Guardsmen on the border and in State mobilization camps, a number 4,083 under the authorized minimum peace strength, and below war strength by 97,350 men. From eleven States in which complete returns are at hand thirty-seven per cent of the aggregate strength of the militia at the date of call either failed to report entirely or were dismissed for failure to pass physical examination. A month and a half after the call to the Guardsmen was issued only 110,957 officers and men were on the border out of 151,096 mustered into service for the President's call. Finally, so cold was the response of the American public to the call for recruits, even in a National emergency, that in twenty-five days twenty recruiting stations in Massachusetts enlisted only 189 recruits, while in New York during a period of slightly more than a month the recruiting was so slow and the cost of the recruiting propaganda so great that the average expense of getting each recruit was forty dollars.

We hope it is not true, as General Scott intimates, that the fine volunteer spirit of our fathers is "moribund." But certainly the evidence produced by the Chief of Staff as to the impracticability of our militia system

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ought to be convincing. Even aside from the question of patriotism, as General Scott adds, the present militia system stands condemned when judged even by the standard of "dollars and cents."

GEORGE C. BOLDT

The recent sudden death of Mr. George C. Boldt, proprietor of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, brought into print many interesting stories of his remarkable career. He crossed the Atlantic when not much more than a boy to seek his fortune in this country, and, beginning very modestly, became the foremost hotel expert in the United States, if not in the world, as well as a very wealthy man. His administrative ability is measured not merely by his success in hotel building and management, but by the fact that he was a director of a large number of important enterprises outside of his own particular field. That he was a trustee of Cornell University and recently received an honorary degree from that institution indicates the wide range of his interests.

He was modest, kindly, thoughtful, and refined, and these qualities greatly counted in his business success. Among the many tributes that have been paid to him we have seen none with a deeper human interest than the following by Dana Burnet, which was published in the well-known "Sun Dial" column of the New York "Evening Sun," nor do we think there was one which would have given Mr. Boldt greater pleasure if he could have seen it:

"George C. Boldt is dead and there are many to pay him tribute; but we have our own memory of the man. . . .

"It is a memory confused with the adventure of a foolhardy boy in a leaky sailboat; with a wild bluster of wind and a certain tumult of waters. . . .

"There was a storm from the northeast and the bosom of the placid St. Lawrence was heaving in majestic anger. The boy was abroad in his leaky boat, very much excited to be out in such a wind—his seamanship was still a matter for parental regulation and general doubt—but on the whole rather enjoying the show. Suddenly the boat staggered head first into a small hillock of water and came up half drowned. The navigator hauled about and put for home. But the wind smote him and sent him sidling helplessly into the shelter of a stranger's pier. . . .

"It was raining torrents and a black dusk had fallen upon the troubled waters. The boy clung desperately to the side of the pier, meanwhile trying to unstep his mast and furl his flapping sail. . . .

"Then a man came out of the dark and said that all shipwrecked mariners were his guests, and would the boy stay to dinner?

"Forthwith the world came to rights. The youthful adventurer was escorted into the house, was outfitted with sweaters and other extemporized raiment, and went down to dinner feeling like a character out of some thrilling novel of the sea. There were a dozen people seated at the table, all in evening dress and very brilliant. But the boy had donned a high wing collar, which, despite the fact that it was several sizes too large for him, nevertheless established him as one inured to the niceties of civilization. . . . So that he soon became one of that pleasant company.

"And after a dinner that was like a romance in half a dozen chapters, the boy was sent home in one of his host's stately motor craft—with the chastened sailboat in tow. And the man who made guests of shipwrecked mariners stood on the pier in the rain and waved his hand to the boy. . . .

"The writer of this paragraph was that boy and George Boldt was that man. And it is entirely human and sad and regrettable that we have never been able to thank him."

ANOTHER TERCENTENARY

Among those who share the tercentenary honors of this year with Shakespeare and Cervantes is that haunter of bookstalls, gatherer of pamphlets, and codifier and abridger of other men's labors, Richard Hakluyt, of Herefordshire. The New York Public Library has been doing him honor, on the occasion of this anniversary, by an exhibition of books, maps, and manuscripts. A strange claimant, at first glance, seems Hakluyt, to rites from posterity. But it is not given to every man to realize that great history is in the making in his own day and to constitute himself the effective recorder of it. This is Hakluyt's distinction. A map was a growing thing to him, something bred and nurtured by explorers, adventurers, freebooters, and traffickers in rare and costly stuffs. One of his treasures-trove among pamphlets had been printed "in Latin in Macao, a city of China, on China paper, in the year, a thousand, five hundred and ninety and was inter-

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Journal (Paris)

THE LIBERATOR
"And now, Poland, you are as free as Belgium!"

GERMANY "FREES" POLAND—

Carter in the New York Evening Sun

BROTHER TO THE OX

AND ENSLAVES BELGIUM

From Budilnik (Moscow)

Wilson: Light the seas, O Statue of Liberty, so that the U-boats may see what they are doing!"

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S PURPOSE IN ILLUMINATING "LIBERTY"

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

RENOVATING

ONLY AN ODD JOB FOR THE BRITISH—NO SLACKENING AT THE FRONT!

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From London Opinion

Unlucky Motorist (having killed the lady's pet puppy): "Madam, I will replace the animal."
Indignant Owner: "Sir, you flatter yourself."

From the Bystander (London)

FORGOT HIMSELF

"Well, my boy, the old story, I suppose—the fool of the family sent to sea?"
"Oh, no, sir; that's all altered since your day."

THOSE TART REPLIES

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cepted in the great Carack, called Madre de dios, two years after, inclosed in a case of sweet cedar wood and lapped up almost an hundredfold in fine calicut cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewel." Others he found "miserably scattered in mustie corners and recklessly hidden in mistie darkness." All these, as the ingenious Thomas Fuller once put it, he embodied, as "so many several ships," into "three squadrons" or well-freighted volumes. This it is which the historian Froude has called, with a rational enthusiasm, "the prose epic of the modern British nation."

Let one of these mariner-pamphleteers tell us what he has to offer us:

How to proceed and deal with strange people, be they never so barbarous, cruel, and fierce.

How a pilot may deal, being environed with mountains of ice in the frozen sea.

How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new discoveries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beasts and fishes, the wonderful works of nature, the different manners and fashions of divers nations, the sundry sorts of governments, the sight of strange trees, fruit, fowls, and beasts, the infinite treasure of pearl, gold, and silver, the news of new-found land, the sundry positions of the sphere.

How dangerous it is to attempt new discoveries either for . . . new and unaccustomed elements and airs, strange and unsavory meats, danger of thieves and robbers, fierceness of wild beasts and fishes, hugeness of woods, dangerousness of seas, dread of tempests, steepness of mountains, darkness of sudden fallen fogs.

Who will ever discover the exact relationship between the swelling sails of the audacious English pinnace and the Elizabethan's cadenced and elated diction? Was it one of cause and effect? Were they both the result of a common origin? Did they react upon one another? Certainly the English mariner was a man of imaginative speech. Whether, on setting sail, he pictured the Pole as the blessed spot where men "are in perpetual light and never know what darkness meaneth," or on returning, ill and weather-beaten, he described shores "beset with ice, a league into the sea, making such irksome noise as that it seemed to be the true pattern of desolation," he was always, in his own brief way, a creative author. Whether he was a mere adventurer or a warring Protestant eager to wreak a robber's vengeance on the hated Spaniard, a greedy seeker after Orient pearls and rich bullion, or satisfied to "find out ample vent of our woolen cloth" in the "manifold islands of Japan and the northern parts of China and the regions of the Tartars next adjoining," he never uses the jejune vocabulary of the modern Philistine, who can put the very be-all and end-all of his existence into the phrase, "Business is business."

Richard Hakluyt, a clergyman and Master of Arts, set himself to perpetuate what Professor Raleigh has called "individual observation and particular experiences," content to let every man "answer for himself, justify his reports, and stand accountable for his own doings." It was only when they invaded the clergyman's province and sermonized, as they were too apt to do, on the providence of God and the sinfulness of man that he cut them short, blotting out, no doubt, some excellent phrases forever. Of himself he says little, except in connection with some patron who has furthered his labors or some map which was of "high and rare delight to him." But we know that he was of old English blood, was early orphaned, was Oxford bred, well versed in the languages, interested in improving nautical education and enlarging the knowledge of tropical diseases and their cure, no navigator, but enough of a traveler to change parishes in England, ferret out men and books in many shires, and see something of the fair land of France. His contemporaries valued him enough to rest his bones in Westminster Abbey.

THE CARNEGIE PENSION FUND

In The Outlook of May 6, 1905, we gave some account of a Pension Fund provided by Mr. Carnegie for teachers in colleges, universities, and technical schools. This fund was to be applied without regard to race, sex, creed, or color, but it did not include sectarian institutions. We stated that "preliminary to the gift experts were employed to calculate the amount of revenue adequate for the purpose proposed, and their report shows that the five hundred thousand dollars annual income provided will be ample." It now appears that the report was over-sanguine; that the five hundred thousand dollars is not adequate to meet the demand already made upon it, still less to meet the growing demand which will inevitably result from the rapid growth of our colleges.

Bulletin No. IX of the Carnegie Foundation, published this year, indicates that in the judgment of Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation, any such

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pension dependent on an endowed fund is necessarily inadequate. He says:

The essential facts to which the pension experiences of different nations seem to point are these. Any employer, whether a government or a corporation, that undertakes to carry the liabilities which accrue under a system of non-contributory pensions will in the end find the load intolerable. Employees, on the other hand, will be disappointed both by the diminution in the rates of pay and the uncertainty as to the payment of the pension which is likely to arise in the course of time.

Dr. Pritchett has therefore proposed to the trustees a modification of the original plan. Of this modification we gave some account in The Outlook of July 5, 1916. Its most essential feature was that the teachers to get the benefit of this pension must contribute annually to the fund, and in order to secure such contributions Dr. Pritchett proposed to make it compulsory. We quote from his report:

To the teacher working in one of these college groups a plan of co-operation in insurance and annuities offers enormous advantages; but in order to secure these advantages it is necessary that the participation of the teacher in any college that desires to share in the plan of co-operation should be a condition of his service to the extent of at least an agreed minimum. Without this neither the individual nor the general plan of co-operation can succeed, as the experience of all insurance and pension associations which have been contributory but not compulsory has proven. Any college, therefore, that desires to participate in such a plan would find it necessary to require those entering its service to participate in the programme of insurance and annuity to the extent of the agreed minimum; or, to put the matter in another way, the college having done its share would, if it were to be successful in its co-operation, require that the teacher entering its service should undertake a corresponding participation as a condition of employment. What would result would be not only a distinct separation between the question of pension and the question of salary, but an increase of salary to the extent of the participation of the employing college.

WILL THE PENSION FUND BE CHANGED?

This proposed change has given rise to wide discussion in the colleges and among those who had expected to profit by the original pension system.

Excellent reports have been made upon it, among them especially to be noted one by a Committee of the Wisconsin University, and one by a Faculty Committee of Wellesley College. These reports have elicited three serious objections to the proposed change in the plan: (1) That the Carnegie Foundation, having raised certain expectations by its promises to teachers—expectations on which they have acted in their plans and their expenditures—has now no moral right to withdraw from the promises it has made without their consent. If, therefore, any change is made, it should affect only those who accept teaching appointments hereafter. (2) That it has no moral right to demand of the college as a condition of participation in the pension scheme that it require all its teachers to share in the plan of co-operation. If voluntary co-operation is impracticable, compulsory co-operation is unjust. (3) Both the Wisconsin Committee and the Wellesley Committee, working independently and comparing the amount of contribution required by the Carnegie Foundation and that required by commercial insurance and annuity companies, present figures which seem to show that the terms offered by the commercial companies are financially better than those which would be offered by the Carnegie Foundation.

Dr. Pritchett, in his eleventh Annual Report, has apparently accepted the first objection by recommending that every person now in the institutions connected with the Carnegie Foundation be given the option of continuing under the old plan or under the new.

The Board of Trustees has by its action indorsed this recommendation of Dr. Pritchett's, and clearly expressed its purpose to carry out with scrupulous regard the promises of the Foundation and meet fully the just expectation of all teachers now in those institutions, and it has referred the proposed changes in other respects to a Commission of Eleven, consisting of six trustees of the Foundation and five representatives of educational organizations.

The whole matter under consideration, therefore, will lie over for final action certainly until April, and perhaps until next November.

We think it safe to say that, whatever that action is, teachers who have trusted to this pension fund may rest assured that their trust will not prove groundless, and teachers may also rest reasonably assured that they will not be compelled

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to co-operate in a pension plan against their will as a condition of retaining their positions.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The third quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, held in St. Louis from December 6 to 11, considered some important social, economic, and religious problems. This organization is a federation of thirty Protestant denominations (including almost all of the principal ones); and the delegates who attended the meeting were officially appointed by the denominations they represented.

The Council has entered the field of international relations. The General Secretary reported correspondence with the Government in Berlin concerning the attitude of Germany toward a league of nations. Resolutions were passed for the protection of aliens; calling upon the press for a sympathetic treatment of the Japanese question; expressing righteous indignation at attempting to incite race prejudice; appointing a Commission on Oriental Relations and expressing friendship toward Japan; making provision for the relief of the suffering in Mexico and directing the Executive Committee to consider the matter of a commission on relations with Mexico and Latin America.

The report of the Social Service Commission placed the chief emphasis upon economic justice, although it dealt quite fully with social welfare, unemployment, housing, recreation, commercialized vice, prison reform, and the equal status of women. The economic aspects of the liquor problem were given a large place in the report of the Commission on Temperance.

Family life in its various relationships was comprehensively covered by the commission dealing with this subject—marriage and divorce, the decline in the birth rate, and the factors in social and economic life which result in the disintegration of family solidarity.

Gifford Pinchot, Chairman of the Commission on the Church and Country Life, pointed out the necessity of greater co-operation among the churches in the rural districts, the recommendation being based upon a somewhat extensive study of the country churches in Ohio. "Churches in the country ordinarily work against instead of working with each other. They compete rather than co-operate," said Mr. Pinchot.

William Jennings Bryan, who was a delegate to the meeting of the Council, spoke to immense audiences in popular meetings, chiefly on peace and arbitration and on temperance. Addressing the Council itself, Mr. Bryan said: "America should stand at the door and knock, saying to the nations at war that any day we are anxious to bring them together in an honorable peace. If this Nation cannot take this step, why can't the churches of this country appeal to the churches of both countries to stop this war?"

The Rev. Dr. Frank Mason North succeeds Dr. Shailer Mathews as President of the Council for the next quadrennial.

THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

At the seventeenth annual meeting of the National Consumers' League, in Springfield, Massachusetts, last month, the President, Mr. Newton D. Baker, better known to the country in his more familiar rôle of Secretary of War, described the League from its initial days when its function was that of the "teaching and preaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods," under the leadership of John Graham Brooks.

Mr. Baker dwelt effectively upon the importance of the legal defense of labor laws before the Supreme Court after that significant day in the year 1908 when, upon the invitation of the Attorney-General of the State of Oregon, Mr. Brandeis appeared before our highest National tribunal and created a new method—that which we have come to call the "atmospheric" method of trying cases.

Mr. Baker contrasted dramatically the old and the new methods. "When I was a young man, I studied law, and I was taught twenty definitions of the law—all equally dead. . . . If you go into an old-fashioned court, where a case is being tried by the old method, you will find the judge sitting with his hand on a book a thousand years old, and a deep furrow on his brow. You will see and hear a weary lawyer drearily pleading his case, citing only the law and the precedents. If you go into a court where a case is tried in the modern way, you will see the judge sitting on the front of his chair, leaning forward over the bench, eagerly listening to the facts that relate this case to the lives of working men and women. Now counsel says to the judge, 'Do not hang this waist or skirt upon the wall and say, "Ab-

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stractly considered, this is a desirable garment," but view it in relation to this man or this woman.' Never again in the history of the world can jurisprudence be what it was before Mr. Brandeis pleaded the Oregon case."

For the coming year the new feature of the League's work is indicated by the resolution suggesting to President Wilson that he include in his legislative programme a bill, modeled on the Federal Child Labor Law, to establish the eight-hour day for women who work on goods subject to inter-State commerce. A second resolution pledged the League to support any bill appropriate to this purpose which may be introduced. A third resolution recommended to the hundred Consumers' Leagues in many States that they continue the efforts begun in 1910 to promote laws for the shorter working day during the coming winter, when forty Legislatures will be in session.

THE OPEN SEASON FOR GLASS EYES

At this same meeting of the National Consumers' League Mrs. Davis R. Dewey, the woman member of the Massachusetts State Board of Labor and Industry, called to the attention of both organizations a vice common to many laws limiting the working hours of women. This consists in bestowing upon a State commission power to extend the working day beyond the limit specified in the statute in the case of seasonal trades. Mrs. Dewey quoted the question of a candy manufacturer: "Why is manufacturing glass eyes a seasonal occupation? Why can't people who make glass eyes wait? Candy has to be rushed for Christmas; then the trade dies down in Lent. It is dead all summer. In hot weather people want cool drinks, not candy. But what's the hurry about glass eyes?"

The astonished Board to whom this query was addressed learned, in the end, that the glass eyes in question are prepared not for people but for animals, and are in great demand, occasioning "rush" orders, at the close of the hunting season, when successful hunters are impatient to have the skins of their trophies stuffed and mounted.

Candy and glass eyes are merely two of a long list of products for which exemptions are demanded under the labor laws of many States. Baby carriages, traps for wild beasts, costly jewels, Easter bonnets, and many other objects are put forth as seasonal products whose makers should be granted exemptions. Granting and refusing them is a difficult task for State commissions. Commissioners who oppose granting exemptions lengthening the working day are always in danger that at the expiration of their first term of office they must give way to more pliant officials. Mrs. Dewey therefore besought the advocates of the eight-hour law to oppose all exemptions. If, however, any are provided, the responsibility for them should be shouldered by Legislatures, and the terms clearly placed in the statutes. The National Consumers' League indorsed Mrs. Dewey's position.

THE UNIVERSITY AND POLICE STANDARDS

On the list of special lecturers at Harvard University this season will be found the name of Raymond B. Fosdick, of the Rockefeller Foundation. His theme will be "Police Administration in Europe and America." He will speak as an observer and investigator who, at close range, has studied the problem about which he speaks.

Inclusion of this topic in the course of lectures on municipal government to which the public is now invited by Harvard University is not a chance affair, for Harvard College has always interested itself in the affairs of the city in which it exists. Added interest is aroused by Mr. Fosdick's lectures from the fact that the Mayor of Cambridge is planning to increase greatly the efficiency and special training of the local police force, and he intends to have men of the department present at the lectures by the New York expert. It will be strange if Boston's progressive Police Commissioner, Mr. O'Meara, does not show equal alertness and order some of his subordinates to take the course.

European universities have long since made provision for this form of education, in which Harvard now has the chance to pioneer. If, as the outcome of this initiation of formal relations between a university and a police force, either Cambridge or Boston or both communities alter the traditional attitude of their citizens toward policemen and come to see them in their right light as potential educators as well as protectors of life and property, they will do a National service. All other callings that have come under the influence of universities have broadened and deepened their ideals. Policing will not be an exception.

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GERMANY'S OFFER OF PEACE

Germany is now willing to take part in that general European conference which, on the part of Great Britain, Sir Edward Grey proposed in the last days of July, 1914. At that time Germany flouted the proposal, preferring the appeal to arms. After two years of experiencing this appeal to arms, she admits it (in the words of her Chancellor) to be "a catastrophe . . . which injures the most precious achievements of humanity," and she now proposes to talk the matter over.

In estimating this offer of peace we must acquaint ourselves with the causes of the war, the "obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth," and the purposes of those who are responsible for the war. If the advocates of Germany are right—if England, France, and Russia were leagued together to destroy Germany; if she saw them contriving to hem her in, preventing her normal development, and planning to destroy her, as a traveler sees bandits lurking in ambush in the road before him, and she attacked them in self-defense, and has now succeeded in thwarting their murderous designs—then her peace proposals may be regarded as magnanimous.

But we do not so read history. On the contrary, we believe that Germany inherited the ambitions of Frederick the Great and imported the ambitions of Napoleon the Great. Germany believed that the Teutons should dominate Europe and control the civilization of the world. Her overweening ambition poisoned her miseducated conscience. She was as conscientious as Philip II of Spain and Louis XVI of France. Democracy was as abhorrent to her ruling powers as Protestantism to the Duke of Alva. She prepared to crush democracy and watched for her opportunity. Her preparation was made with extraordinary efficiency. Her navy, her military railways, her army register including every man capable of bearing arms, her extraordinary equipment prepared and ready for every possible contingency, made clear her designs to the few thoughtful men of Europe, but were all disregarded by the thoughtless—that is, the majority. She waited and watched for the opportune moment and the justifying occasion. The discontent in Ireland and India, the factional fights, religious and political, in France, the rising revolt of the repressed peasantry in Russia, made the time opportune. The assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria furnished the occasion. The offer to arbitrate the question of Servia's responsibility for that crime, the urgent request of England, seconded not only by France and Russia but by Germany's own ally, Italy, to attempt a peaceful settlement by an international conference she promptly, not to say haughtily, refused. Her time had come, and she struck the blow for which she had been long preparing.

In the war which followed she was as ruthless as her military leaders could have desired. She violated treaty rights, disregarded international law, made war upon non-combatants, perpetrated murder on land and piracy on the high seas, by her methods drove Italy into the ranks of her enemies, and set the moral sentiment of practically all neutral nations against her. She has failed. True, she has kept her enemies off her soil; true, she has won some dramatic victories. But she is a nation besieged. Her colonies are gone. Her fleet is bottled up. Her hopes of conquest are destroyed. Her people, wonderfully submissive to her authority, wonderfully loyal to their Fatherland, are perplexed. They are still submissive; they are still loyal; but they do not understand, or, to speak more accurately, they are beginning to understand. She cries, Halt! and calls for peace.

This is our reading of history. If we read it aright, the object of her proposal is clear. It is to unite her people, to justify herself to the mind and conscience of the neutral world, to introduce dissension in the councils of her enemies. The answer of the Allies should be prompt. And it should include some statement of the lines upon which they are willing to negotiate for peace. Those conditions should at least include the following:

The immediate evacuation of all foreign soil by the German armies.

A declared readiness to make some compensation for the irreparable injury inflicted upon Belgium and northern France.

The expulsion of the Turk from Europe.

The freedom of the Dardanelles for the commerce of the world.

And a council of European Powers, perhaps of world powers, to consider what measures should be taken for protecting the rights and well-being of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, Poland and Lithuania, and the Balkan States; and pre-eminently what measures can be taken to prevent future wars

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between civilized nations, and to lift off the burden of an intolerable militarism from the overburdened people.

It has been claimed by some English newspaper writers that Germany should be punished for her crime against humanity. It is not the business of other nations to judge and punish a sovereign nation. Judgment and punishment may be left to God. The example of the United States may be pointed to as one which worked well and is worth following. The North made no attempt to punish the South, or even the leaders of the Southern revolt. But it is the duty of the nations to take such measures as will forever make it impossible—or at least improbable—that the spirit of Frederick the Great or Napoleon will ever inflict another such tragedy on Europe as the war of 1914. Justice and mercy unite in demanding that the war, terrible as it is, go on until that protection for future generations is assured. Peace without that assurance would be more terrible than war.

THE WAY TO WIN

The remaking of Cabinets which has been going on in Great Britain and France has a common cause and a common purpose. It does not mean despondency; much less despair. It means determination. The Allies were never more fixed than to-day in their purpose to fight the battle of civilization and democracy until that cause is won. This Germany and her dependent nations will speedily find out in the answer of the Allies to any proposals of peace that Germany may make which aim at German ascendency over Europe and ultimately over the world.

In a word, this political change in France and England means concentration of war leadership. This does not involve the overthrow of democracy; it means the application of the power of democracy effectively. As in this country a school of political thinkers urges the doctrine of "the short ballot" in the belief that democracy can often best accomplish its ends by deputing its power to a small executive body, so in France and England democracy is true to itself when it asks that the vast issue of war and the still vaster issue of the future of Europe be controlled by a centralized executive power.

It is not a question of a man or of men, but of methods. Thus in France, where Briand has been a splendidly efficient leader, the change does not disturb him in his power, simply because he is the right man in the right place. In England the people—that is, the democracy (for England, with its King, its House of Lords, and its aristocracy, is none the less truly democratic)—has become convinced, first, that a large War Council is cumbrous, and, secondly, that the one man in England who should be at the head of affairs is Lloyd George. The change in England, therefore, unlike that in France, involves the retiral of Mr. Asquith and the placing of the war power in the hands of a small council.

This does not discredit Mr. Asquith; nor in France will it throw discredit upon General Joffre if, as reported, he is replaced by General Nivelle in command of the Allied armies in France. Mr. Asquith's services in bringing all England together politically at the outset of the war will always be remembered. General Joffre's services in organizing the French army, in planning to meet the terrible German onslaught at the beginning of the war, and in turning retreat into victory at the Battle of the Marne will never be forgotten by a grateful nation. Viscount Grey also, who gives way to Mr. Balfour as Secretary of State, has splendid achievement to his credit for keeping Great Britain's record right in trying to prevent the war, and later in ranging herself in behalf of Belgium and justice.

But every day brings its own problem in a world crisis like this. England and France must do now that which is the best thing for the immediate problems and the immediate future. What is being done in both countries is well epitomized in a phrase in a despatch from Paris, which says: "New blood for old, economy and efficiency for wastefulness and lack of concentration in governmental administration—this is what Premier Briand is aiming at in reconstruction."

"Carry on" and "Stick it out" have been watchwords of the British private soldier; "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" is the title of the most significant English war novel. England means to carry on, England means to stick it out, England means to see it through. And so does France.

No doubt party politics has its part in the reconstruction of the English Ministry. Mr. Sydney Brooks's article in the last issue of The Outlook gave a clear picture of the situation as it stood. Now that Lloyd George has announced his Cabinet, it is certain that

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the coalition idea in the English Government remains intact. In the War Council itself three of the five members are Unionists—Bonar Law, Lord Milner, and Earl Curzon. But note that Earl Curzon is also to be political leader in the House of Lords, and that Bonar Law is to be political leader in the House of Commons, so that the three men who will really control the War Council are Lloyd George, Arthur Henderson, who is the head of the Labor party, and Lord Milner, who holds no secretarial portfolio. It is in the decisions urged and the action initiated by these three men that the conduct of the war centers. In this fact is the answer to the criticisms on the make-up of the Cabinet.

Why, people ask, is Mr. Balfour in the Ministry when the press, and especially the powerful papers under the control of Lord Northcliffe, have declared that Mr. Balfour is a brilliant intellectual, but that he is too old and too much a philosopher to be placed, as he now is, at the head of the Foreign Office? Why is Earl Curzon in the Ministry and in the Council when he has been criticised in the same quarters as too egotistical and too heavy in action?

The answer to this is simple. Despite possible defects, these men are able and patriotic, and their presence in the Cabinet, like that of the Labor leader, himself once a worker in a colliery, welds together a coalition of party elements for united action, without unduly limiting or hampering the real executive power of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, it is an absurdity to speak of Lloyd George as holding a dictatorship, as some writers have done. English political methods are eminently flexible. If Lloyd George stands at the helm, it is because the people want him there; and if next year, or even next month, they want some other man to lead, the parliamentary method of bringing about such a result will again do the will of the people, just as it has done in replacing Mr. Asquith by Mr. Lloyd George.

Another carping comment is as easily answered. It has been said that Lloyd George refused to agree to a War Council of which Mr. Asquith should be an active member, on the ground that a Prime Minister ought to be concerned with other things. But now, say the carpers, Lloyd George is Prime Minister, and behold him at the head of the War Council. This is only an apparent inconsistency. The new plan provides that Mr. Bonar Law should be political leader in the House of Commons, while Mr. Lloyd George, unlike Mr. Asquith, does not act as political leader in Parliament nor does he hold a portfolio.

Every one knows that the British people have risen to war needs splendidly. In the number of volunteers, in the slow but finally complete organization of industry, in the fighting in the field, and in many other ways Great Britain has done her part. But both in England and in France it has come to be feared that the "team work" so praised a year ago is no longer what it should be. Gallipoli and Mesopotamia have been partly forgotten; the defense of Verdun and the joint attack in the Somme sector are recognized as valorous and fine. But when the swift conquest of Rumania by a sudden German thrust is discussed, the man in the street says that, wherever the blame lies, whether with Rumania for entering into a vain and foolish campaign, or with Russia for not bringing support in time, or with General Sarrail for not lending aid, the whole affair showed a lack of common planning for the common good. Whatever else is involved in the conquest of Rumania, certainly it has shown lamentable lack of "team work" on the part of the Allies. The Englishman also growls in his truly English way because the Greek question has not yet been settled.

Now, we are not arguing that this dissatisfaction is entirely wise or always well based. But it is one explanation of the new effort towards concentration and united action. An editorial writer in the New York "World" says truly and concisely that there is only one dictator in Great Britain, and that is Parliament. Because England is really democratic the new Government, and any government, is only a committee of Parliament. "It can exist only with the consent of Parliament, and may be driven out of office any day that the House of Commons disapproves of its measures and its methods."

This is true of France also, and the Paris despatches describe the object of the small Ministry of five members (the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Interior, War, and Marine) as being to simplify administrative machinery and to subordinate all the services to the exigencies of national defense. With such a fighting Cabinet, so to speak, a war council may prove unnecessary. It is for this that, as a French paper says, the Premier, M. Briand, has decided to throw

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the old administrative machine into the melting-pot.

Thus in France and in Great Britain there is to be hereafter, not, as some say, a one-man power, but a one-nation power—compact, manageable, efficient, ready to meet problems of war or proposals of peace alike with wisdom and forcefulness.

WHAT GERMANY TEACHES

The three articles which we have published from Mrs. Gallison showing Germany as she saw it, and the quotations we have given from the articles of Miss Doty published in the New York "Tribune" showing Germany as she saw it, are more than contrasted pictures of social conditions produced by the war. They indicate both the virtues and the vices of the German state—methods to emulate and methods to avoid. For it is one of the merits of Mrs. Gallison's admirable articles that they unconsciously emphasize the difference between the German and the American ideals.

Americans may well admire the spirit of patriotism which unites the common people of Germany in enduring cheerfully untold sacrifices in a war which they believe is "a war of the people in defense of their homes;" but Americans cannot admire a state so organized and governed that the people can be made to believe that the German military party had not carefully prepared for this war and deliberately provoked it at the moment that party thought was opportune. Americans prefer the apparent political strife in England and America, a product of free thought and free speech, to the apparent political unity of a people who seem to be of one mind because one mind thinks for the people.

Americans admire the efficiency of a government which in a beleaguered state so adjusts the food supply that apparently there is food enough for all her children at not extravagant prices; but this admiration is abated when they read that there is food enough "if each member is put on regulated rations;" and it is still further chilled when Miss Doty tells them that "official Germany denies its poor and hides them," and that she visited a section in Berlin where "little children swarmed, dirty, ragged, barefooted, and pale." Are there no poor in Germany, or does Germany hide her poor, while England and America exhibit theirs? Americans prefer to live in a community which makes the misery of its miserable population known than in one which banishes it from sight.

Americans naturally admire a state in which "an idler does not exist" until they read the reason: "The citizen yields his individuality and takes and fills his place in the general scheme." An idler does not exist because "each is a cog in the machine." To destroy individualism in order to destroy idleness seems to the American too great a price to pay for universal industry. An idler does not exist in our State prisons; but the Americans prefer the free life of the State outside, where idlers do exist.

Americans can never share Mrs. Gallison's pride in the soup kitchens of Germany. Soup kitchens are sometimes maintained for a little while in our overcrowded cities. But they are never our pride; they are our humiliation. We are ashamed that they should exist. For it is not our ambition to feed the hungry efficiently, but to abolish hunger; not to care generously for the paupers, but to put an end to pauperism.

The description of *Produktion* is picturesque: "A large block, having many spacious inner courts;" "contains mostly apartments for workingmen's families." Here housekeeping is apparently conducted by wholesale methods with great efficiency and great economy. "By buying at the source and selling without the help of the middleman they reduce the 'high cost of living.'" This is surely a great improvement on our tenement-house life. From that America might learn a valuable lesson for the benefit of her great cities, and perhaps of her factory towns. Nevertheless America's pride is not in her great apartment-houses, hotels, and tenement-houses; it is in her individual homes, her village and cottage life. Much better than Mrs. Gallison's picture of *Produktion* we like Mr. Ford's plan of sharing his profits with his workingmen and leaving them to provide for their individual homes and lives, although the cost may be greater. Economy or efficiency costs too much if for it we sacrifice the individual home.

The one description of Mrs. Gallison which wins our unstinted admiration is her account of what Dr. Biesalski and Director Hans Wuertz are doing to help the lame, the halt, and the blind to help themselves. We wish that every Board of United Charities, every Association for the Relief of the Poor, and

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the superintendent of every asylum and poorhouse in the United States could read this section of Mrs. Gallison's third letter and learn from it a lesson. For the community can render to the handicapped no better service than to enable them, despite their handicap, to care for themselves and their loved ones and contribute their share to the general welfare.

In Germany industry is carried on by an industrial army. The people are privates; the few are officers. The officers organize and direct the industry and give the privates their allotted rations. Economical? Yes! Efficient? Yes! But free? No! We hope that Americans will never sacrifice their freedom for efficiency and economy. For that is to sacrifice manhood for things.

MEETING LIFE SQUARELY

It was recently said of a prominent public man that if he could evade a problem he thought he had solved it. This is the philosophy of many people whose endeavor seems to be, not to meet life squarely, but to evade it; not to see difficult situations clearly nor to deal with them strongly, but to shut the eyes to the most ominous and perplexing aspects and to find the easiest way out. This means, of course, that the real end of living, the education which experiences bring with them, is entirely missed, and the main purpose of life is defeated. The student who becomes expert in the various devices by which the drudgery of learning is evaded imagines that he is outwitting his instructors, but discovers in later life that he has cheated himself. The discipline of education is not the attempt of the school or the college to benefit itself. It has been devised and is imposed for the sole purpose of helping the student.

The cares and burdens and perplexities of life were not devised to amuse an irresponsible power. They are wrought into the very structure of life, and are involved in its most vital experiences, in order that men and women may be taught the great truths which are behind all living, and in learning which the discipline of living finds its splendid justification. A proclamation of emancipation may set slaves and serfs free from legal bondage; but this is only the beginning of freedom. It is only an opportunity to become free, for freedom is not a gift and can never be a gift; it must always be an achievement. A man buys his freedom by restraint, self-denial, and work. To the criticism of an artist that he ought to have done his work in another way, La Farge promptly said: "That would have been impossible. An artist, above all other men, must work out his genius under laws." Neither in the substance of his work nor in its technique is he free. He must express his own temperament, and he must, by rigorous discipline and tireless patience, master the method by which at last he can freely express himself. "Grace," said George Macdonald, "is the result of forgotten toil."

The discipline of life, which many people resent as an interference with their right to the pursuit of happiness, is really, if one bears it patiently and meets it frankly, the only way to happiness.

This is especially true of such a tragic period as that through which the world is passing. The shadow of the struggle in Flanders and the Balkans covers the landscape of the whole world, and even those who are willing to buy peace at any price cannot purchase it. Try as they may to evade the great and terrible experience by shutting their eyes to it, it faces them at every turn, and the only escape from it is to meet it bravely and to learn what it has to teach.

People are trying to get away from the tragedy by taking refuge in amusements of many kinds. Miss Repplier has pithily said that the gospel of amusement "is preached by people who lack experience to people who lack vitality," and she adds that there is an impression that the world would be happy if it were amused, and that it would be amused if plenty of artificial recreation were provided for it. Play of all kinds is as necessary and legitimate as work. Healthful amusements and recreation are essential to physical and spiritual well-being; but they must be taken as tonics, not as anodynes. This country is not escaping the war by standing apart and shutting its eyes to the tragedy; on the contrary, the war overshadows every home and lays a tax on every income, large or small. Whether we will or not, we are our brother's keepers, and the shadow of his calamity rests, and ought to rest, on our homes. We cannot stand apart and rejoice in our prosperity; in the long run his calamity must be our calamity, and in some form we are sharing, and must share, it with him.

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A CONFERENCE ON FARMS AND FOOD

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE fourth annual Conference on Markets and Farm Credits, held in Chicago, December 4 to 8 inclusive, was not a conference of practical farmers and stock-raisers—although there were some of that character in the assemblage—so much as it was of college professors of economics. This is not said in criticism, for it is recognized that, as bank cashiers are not usually authorities on finance and ship captains are not skilled in geodetic surveying, so the "heavy-fisted tillers of the soil" are not the deepest students of general agricultural economics, but are quite as likely to be lost in the broad general problems as the professor of economics would be in the practical operations of farming. Hence the work of this Conference is none the less significant because its leaders were not "practical farmers" except in a few instances.

The President of the University of North Dakota, Dr. Frank L. McVey, is the perpetual President of the Conference, as Professor Charles W. Holman and Dr. Charles McCarthy, both formerly of the University of Wisconsin, are perpetual secretary and treasurer. For be it known that the Conference is neither a democracy nor a republic, but a hereditary monarchy, by divine right of its originators and controllers.

Among the college men also present in the self-perpetuating General Committee are Dr. Thomas N. Carver, Professor of Economics of Harvard College, formerly head of the Bureau of Rural Organization and Markets of the Department of Agriculture; Dean John Lee Coulter, of the Agricultural College of West Virginia; and Director Thomas Cooper, of the North Dakota Experiment Station; and among the statesmen on the Committee are the Hon. Gifford Pinchot, and Governor Arthur Capper, of Kansas, not to mention divers farm-paper editors and leaders of farm organizations.

Every State of continental United States, except South Carolina, was represented at the recent Conference by delegates, and a strong delegation from Canada was also welcomed. Nearly 900 men and women were registered, and about 340 paid membership fees. At times the attendance of the three branches of the Conference aggregated 1,500, for it happened that the annual Live Stock Show at the Union Stock-Yards had brought to the city thousands of stockmen, who gave part of their time to attending meetings of the Conference.

The chief subjects considered were: The Federal Farm Loan Act, passed last July; Land Settlement; and the Marketing of Live Stock, Grain, and Other Crops. As offshoots of the general Conference there were formed two new organizations—a National Milk Producers' Association and a National Co-operative Stores Association, the latter being in the interest of consumers rather than producers, though in full recognition of the fact that farmers are consumers just as truly as are city customers.

At the opening session the Federal Farm Loan Act, passed last July, was explained by James B. Marman, assistant secretary of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and, in the discussion following, it was criticised for its cumbersome machinery, and especially its inadequacy in not providing any means of helping landless farmers with crop-production and live-stock loans. Mr. Marman freely conceded the shortcomings of the law in these respects, and gave assurance that further legislation was looked for, particularly toward providing for personal credits to help the tenant farmers who have no land security to offer, and who therefore are not reached by the present law.

Professor Elwood Mead, of the University of California, declared in favor of State or Federal aid in land settlement as a public policy, not merely in giving free homestead land, but in equipping farms with buildings, machinery, and stock, and providing the farmers with an opportunity to get their supplies economically and earn a living from the start, which is not provided by the mere giving of raw land, even with reclamation and irrigation ditches. He stated that to make an irrigation tract ready and equipped for farming cost $150 an acre, aside from the raw land and the main ditches. The settlers are too poor to finance such improvements even if given the raw land within range of a main ditch; hence the land is not fully developed, and both the settler and the Nation suffer a great economic loss, which would be saved if the Government would

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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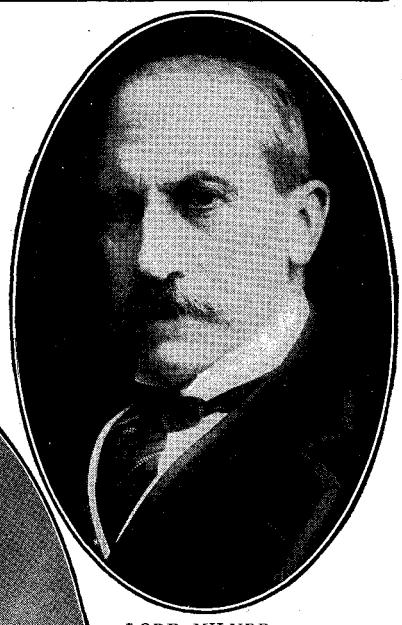
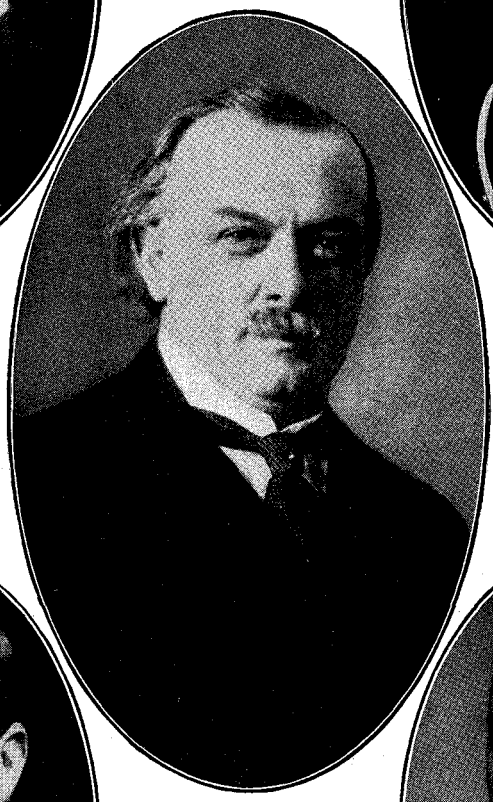
Current Events Pictorially Treated

EARL CURZON
Lord President of the Council

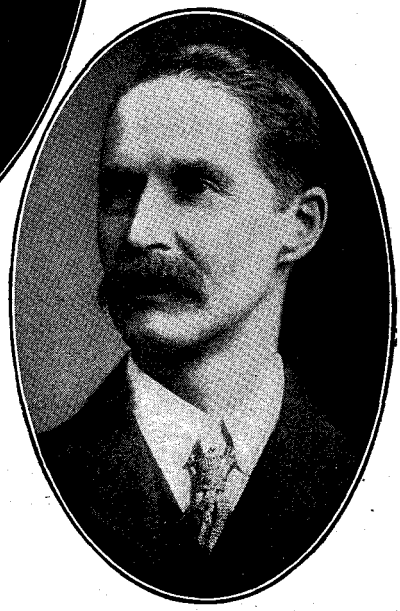


LORD MILNER
Minister without Portfolio



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Premier

ARTHUR HENDERSON
Minister without Portfolio



ANDREW BONAR LAW
Chancellor of the Exchequer

THE NEW BRITISH WAR CABINET

See an editorial, "The Way to Win," in this issue

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ON THE FRENCH FRONT—GERMAN PRISONERS MARCHING PAST A BRITISH TANK

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ON THE FRENCH FRONT—A FRENCH TRACTOR FOR DIGGING TRENCHES

This powerful machine digs a trench and builds a breastwork in one operation. The earth which it throws up at the side in excavating the trench makes an effective breastwork

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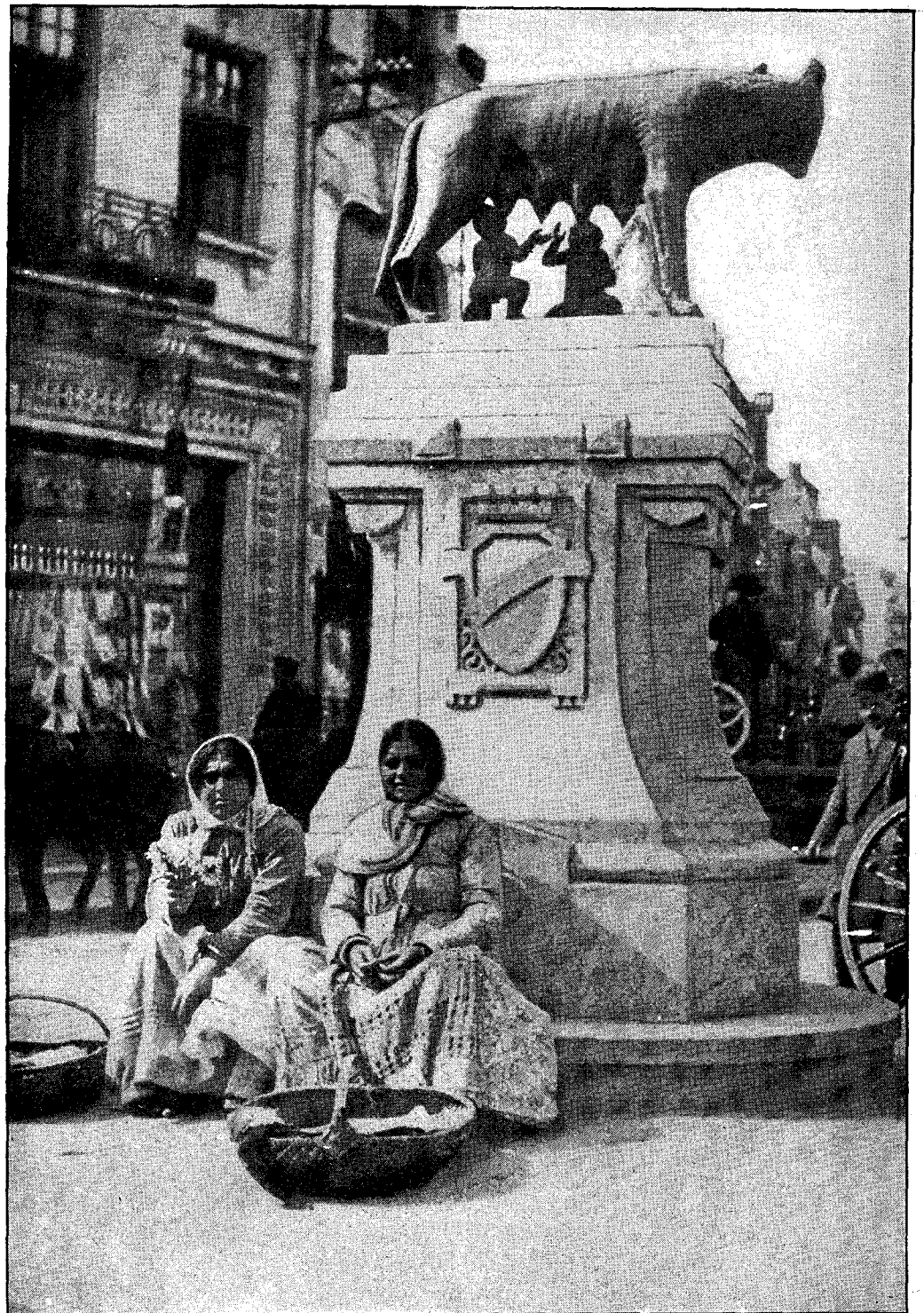

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

A SCENE IN RUMANIA'S FALLEN CAPITAL, BUCHAREST

The picture shows "the sacred wolf of Rome" in Bucharest, the sculpture being a copy of the famous bronze group in the Capitoline Collection in Rome. It represents the familiar legend that Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome, were suckled by a wolf. The Rumanians, it will be recalled, regard themselves as the descendants of the Romans

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE, INC.

"THE ARIZONA MINER"

This spirited statue has been presented by the State of Arizona to the battle-ship Arizona

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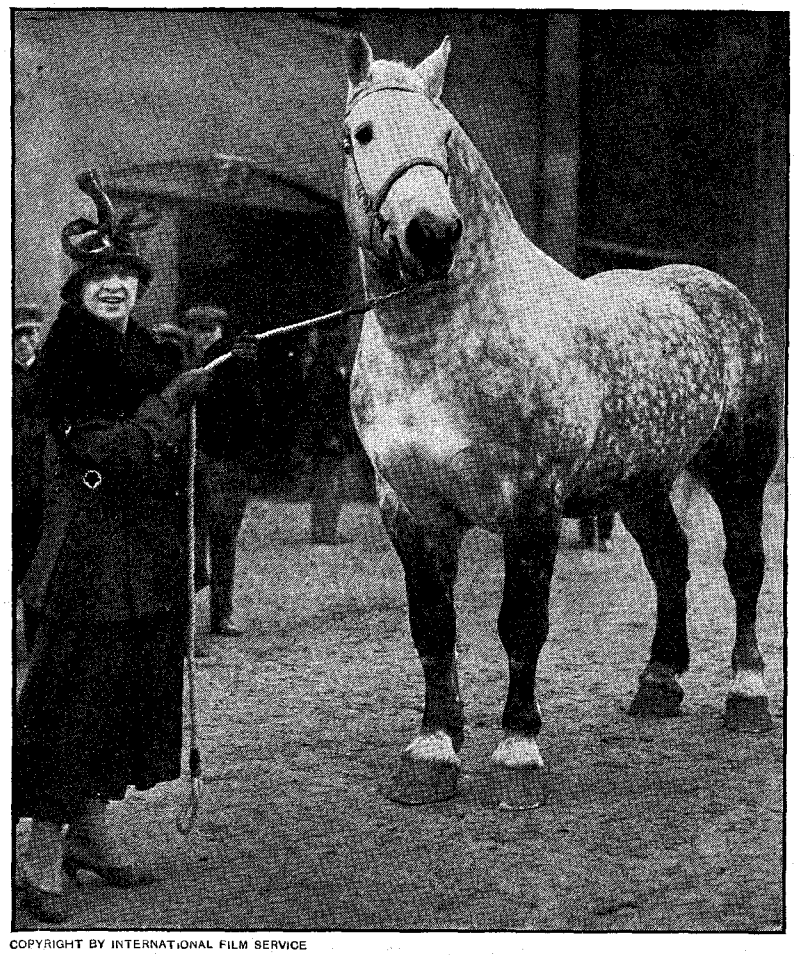

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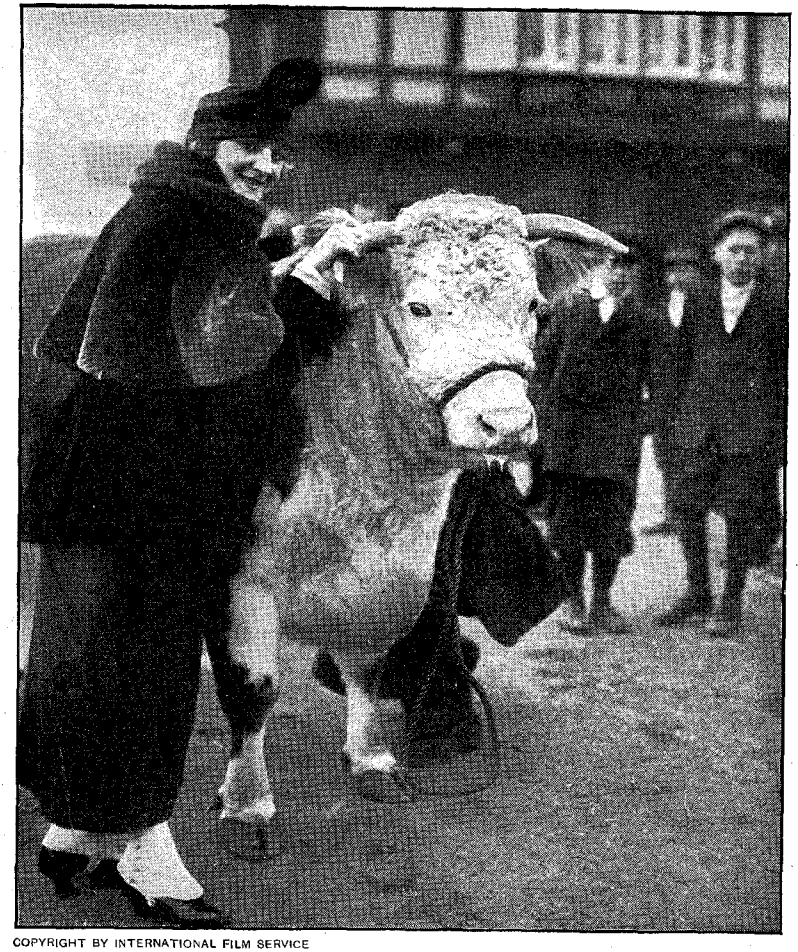
A CHAMPION PERCHERON STALLION



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A PRIZE HOLSTEIN BULL

AT THE CHICAGO STOCK SHOW

This is reported as the first stock show at Chicago for three years, others having been postponed on account of the foot and mouth disease

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PHOTOGRAPH BY CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

AN INCIDENT OF THE WORLD WAR AS IT AFFECTS THE ANTIPODES

The photograph shows a review of volunteer nurses in Sydney, Australia, before their departure for France, by Governor Munro-Ferguson and his wife Lady Munro-Ferguson, who is head of the Australian Red Cross

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A YOUNG GIRL PLAYING THE BALALAIKA, A RUSSIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENT

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MRS. CHARLES H. BOYNTON, PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

TWO COSTUMES WORN AT THE RUSSIAN BAZAAR IN NEW YORK CITY

This bazaar was conducted under the auspices of the Russian-American Relief Association, and the large su of money realized is to be devoted to relieving the ill and wounded of Russia

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furnish a ready-to-use farm and give the farmer long time for payments out of its production.

Incidentally, Professor Mead indorsed the Crosser Bill, now pending in Congress, but the resolution reported by the Resolutions Committee, of which Professor Mead was chairman, was radically modified on the floor, so that in fact the Crosser Bill provisions were condemned, although the need of some measures to assist bona-fide settlers in acquiring and developing farms was recognized.

The Crosser Bill was not indorsed because it proposes that the Government shall take a tract of public land and employ workers, on wages, to develop and work it, but the workers are to be given no opportunity ever to buy any part of it for individual holdings. The resolution, as adopted, recognizes the need of Government aid in farm development, but it says:

> The introduction of the Crosser Bill in Congress shows that this need is being recognized, and we indorse the general purpose of this measure. But we are *opposed to any system of perpetual bureaucratic control of Government promotion, which would establish a dependent peasantry.*

The question of the high cost of living centered mainly around the demand for a Government investigation of the live-stock markets.

The Conference resolved:

> We hereby protest against any legislation by Congress interfering, by embargo or export duty, with the distribution and sale of foodstuffs in the markets of the world.

Another resolution condemned the Shields and Myers water power bills, which fail to protect public interests in giving away water power rights. The resolution also called for personal credits legislation to finance farmers.

These Conferences were made possible four years ago, not only through the initiative of Colonel Frank P. Holland, but through the actual aid of Sir Horace Plunkett, the leader of organized agriculture in Ireland, who came to America for the express purpose of raising funds to put farm organization on its feet financially.

Sir Horace succeeded in interesting one of the great foundations, which gave $20,000 or $25,000 for the cause. This fund has now been exhausted, and hereafter the movement must stand on its own financing. This does not refer alone to the Conferences, but to the general movement, which has produced not only the annual Conferences, but a year ago produced the National Agricultural Organization Society, officered mainly by men identified with the Conferences. This National Agricultural Organization Society undertakes to give skilled advice and service in directing the organization of all kinds of co-operative farm societies and enterprises, auditing and criticising their efficiency of management. Details of farm co-operation, however, were not discussed in this year's Conference.

PAUL V. COLLINS.

Chicago, December 9.

THE JUNCTION OF JEW AND MORMON

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

WHAT'S the matter with Utah? Four years ago the rock-ribbed Republican standpatters carried it and Vermont, and were lucky at that. The Reed Smoot machine, the Mormon machine, the Union Pacific machine, the beet-sugar machine, were popularly supposed to have that Commonwealth in their pockets, beyond all peradventure, for the long future. These cautious groups had so long told the people of Utah what they could not have that everybody supposed that Utah knew her place in the march of National progress—back at the rear. Utah could not have State supervision of her public utilities, nor a Workman's Compensation Law, nor prohibition, nor much of anything else among those measures of advance which the West has come to associate with moral and political development.

The dam broke during last summer in the Republican primaries. Nephi L. Morris, the Mormon ecclesiastic, a "stake" President, led the young liberal Republican Mormons in an onslaught upon the Reed Smoot machine, and came through with the Republican nomination for Governor. He defeated the regular Republican Governor Spry for renomination, although Spry was an able

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man and had shown commendable poise and determination in insisting, against great and dangerous opposition, upon the paying of the full murder penalty by Hillstrom, the Industrial Workers of the World poet and enthusiast. But Spry would not see the light upon the issues which had at last gripped the public thought of Utah. Morris was the gubernatorial nominee and leader of the forlorn hope of the Progressives in 1912. And Morris easily won in the 1916 primaries.

Of course Morris was defeated on last election day. Utah had its 1912 four years later, and the Republican party vote was split in twain, a considerable percentage of it going to Wilson and the Democratic nominee for Governor. The new Governor is a Jew, Simon Bamberger, a leading business man of Utah, who manages mines and railways. Of course Utah is heavily Mormon, and so is Idaho, next door. And now each one of these States has a Jewish Governor. Idaho has Moses Alexander, this year re-elected. And Utah has Simon Bamberger. It would be an interesting quest to ask why, when Mormons fall out among themselves, they seem to prefer a Jew in high place rather than a Christian non-Mormon. But let that pass.

And let nobody think that the junction of Jew and Mormon represents any deterioration in the quality of the Commonwealth of Utah, or any retrogression. Quite the contrary. The overshadowing issue in Utah this year was prohibition and efficient human progress in general. Utah is intensely interested in prohibition, and the people of the State felt that the Republicans had had their opportunity to pass such a law for years and had failed to listen to the rumbling of the awakened conscience of the Commonwealth. And they decided to give the Democrats a chance at it, particularly as Simon Bamberger was most emphatic and clear in his stand upon the issue. Mormons are naturally total abstainers. There never was a saloon in Utah until the non-Mormon population entered the Commonwealth.

That the general cause of progress has gone forward by the election of Simon Bamberger, Jew and Democrat, is evidenced by the declaration of the new standard-bearer to the people of his State :

> Utah is going dry August 1 next. That is what the Democratic platform says, and you can bet our pledges will be carried out to the letter. We are going to have a public utilities commission, too, and that will be just as soon as the law can be framed and passed. Utah will also have a workman's compensation act. I am going to have a businesslike budget system, and apply the same principles to the office of Governor that I have found to work in running a mine or a railway.

This is a part of the whole process of Americanization which is transforming Utah. It would speedily transform the whole country if we had everywhere the spirit and the brains in National and State leadership which this Jew is eager to put into action in this Mormon commonwealth. It is one more lesson to political Bourbons. Nothing can stop the inherent forces of advance in the American population, not even in that State in the Union which we have come to regard as one of the most difficult to move.

Always side by side in the Mormon population of Utah two influences have been struggling for the mastery. The original Mormon pioneers were by no means immoral people. There was among them in an aggravated form that reversion to primitive traits and a primitive theology which has been observed again and again when pioneers get far beyond the outposts of civilization. Polygamy was their besetting social and National failure. But in the early days it was no evidence of deep-seated immorality. Side by side with the practice of polygamy the original Mormons exhibited a thrift, a sobriety, a business acumen, a deep reverence for education and religion, which cannot fail to be the marvel of all those who examine the subject. And side by side with a bitterness towards the Federal Government as the result of the early conflict with that power over the form of marriage relation there was growing all the time a natural instinct of patriotism. In 1847, just before the Mexican War, the Mormons of Utah sent five hundred men down to help hold California against Mexico. Their early settlement was on Mexican soil, but they claimed it for the flag of the United States. The first telegram that ever reached Salt Lake City was from President Lincoln to Brigham Young, who promised Lincoln in reply to keep the highways open with Mormon pioneers so that the Government mails could move without the aid of the army.

In the early period polygamy was a religious tenet, and therefore did not have anything like the full effect of an immoral practice. I was talking a short time ago with one of the finest elderly Mormon citi-

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zens in Utah. His father had two wives, who lived in separate houses near each other, and both the wives and the children were as friendly as if of one household. And all their lives long the children of both families have enjoyed the closest friendship and intimacy. Each of the groups of children called the other mother "aunt," but they have regarded each other all their lives long as brothers and sisters. It is because of the concepts and complex responsibilities of that earlier generation that public opinion has been lenient toward some existing instances of polygamy still in the State of Utah. A friend of mine in Salt Lake City told me that he had seen the five wives of Joseph Smith not very long ago ride downtown in the same carriage. They were all elderly women, past sixty or seventy; and the public opinion of Utah and the country, knowing the immense amount of tandem polygamy which prevails in certain more Pharisaical centers of the East as well as the West, has refused to grow wildly excited over the open declaration of President Smith that he intended to fulfill his financial and household obligations to these elderly women to the last.

But the primitive moral virility of the pioneers did not survive in the polygamy of the second generation. The younger generation was in danger of being utterly debauched by it, and in the midst of a great show of fanaticism the Federal Government, the Supreme Court, and finally the Mormon Church itself, set the seal of disapproval upon a primitive practice which the higher life of the world has happily outgrown, but which still more or less secretly contributes to the survival of the lower life of the world in many parts of America besides Utah.

In the face of the long-continued blight of this earlier anti-social practice, the Americanization of Utah goes resistlessly on. And the forces of idealism and social amelioration in Utah having now broken the political barriers down, the American people may look forward, in my opinion, to a Mormon advance, National, patriotic, moral, efficient, that will be an honor to the country and to mankind.

THREE LETTERS

For the past three weeks The Outlook has been printing a series of articles by Mrs. H. H. Gallison, an American woman of German birth, who has told with simplicity and directness, not only of her experiences in Germany, but of her sympathy and affection for the German people that were renewed by her visit to the Fatherland. After the last of these articles went to press a letter came from Mrs. Gallison to the secretary of The Outlook Company. We here print it, with the reply to it, and Mrs. Gallison's rejoinder, because the correspondence (together with the editorial on another page entitled "What Germany Teaches") may make clearer to our readers The Outlook's view, as well as the prevailing opinion among Americans with regard to Germany.—THE EDITORS.

December 5, 1916.

Mr. Ernest H. Abbott,
Secretary, The Outlook Company,
New York City:

Dear Mr. Abbott—I have just received the letter which you wrote to me yesterday, and I should like to tell you why I was pleased at your editorial. My article was first sent to the ——. I had several pleasant and complimentary letters about it from Mr. ——. He rejected it in the end because it was too long, and he thought it unfair to me to shorten it. Then I consulted with my pro-Ally and pro-German friends to whom to send it next. Every one doubted your acceptance because you have the reputation of being "bitterly" anti-German—yes, "venomously" so, some said—in your editorials. As I never had read your magazine, I had to take their word for it. However, I did not expect to have my article accepted, and made arrangements to send it somewhere else. To my surprise, you did accept it—and the astonishment and delight of my friends was great. But, as you accepted and had the reputation of being "bitterly," yes, "venomously" anti-German, I expected bitterness in your editorial. Instead of that you state your opinion in such a way as to make the reader feel your kindness and help towards the writer and her undertaking all the way through. I think you will do a great deal of good with your editorial because you refrained from bitterness. You and I are of different opinions, but I can't help thinking that we both wish to help bring about good

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will towards men. I feel your kindness in your editorial toward an intense pro-German, and I thank you for it.

Very sincerely yours,
MARIE GALLISON.

December 7, 1916.

My dear Mrs. Gallison:

Please accept my very hearty thanks for your letter of December 5. Your friends' account of The Outlook's attitude does not altogether surprise me, for we have not hesitated to express our condemnation of the course of the Imperial German Government. We have had similar experiences in other cases. Even to be unsparing in condemnation, however, is not necessarily to be bitter or venomous, and certainly condemnation of the government of a nation is quite a different thing from hate of a nation's people. No one can feel about music, for example, as I do, and hate the German people. What does hurt the lover of liberty in this country, I think, more than anything else is that neither in Germany nor even here among the people of German descent have there arisen leaders to protest and struggle against the spirit of tyranny as there have been in other countries and as there arose in this country among people of English descent against English tyranny one hundred and forty years ago. This is the attitude of The Outlook. Personally, I hope that out of this war there will re-emerge the spirit of liberty which was one of the ancient possessions of the German people, which was manifested at the time of the German Reformation, and which broke out in 1848; but which for the past two generations has been waging a losing battle against a very subtle and very effective process of education.

You will pardon, I am sure, this explanation; but as you told me that you had not been a reader of The Outlook I wanted to explain to you briefly but as frankly as I could The Outlook's position. It is not a new position in any respect. We have seen this struggle coming on for many years. The present situation in Germany, and, in fact, in Europe, is the outcome of a development which this journal described twenty-five years ago.

Now, may I say to you in turn with what delight we welcomed your manuscript when it first came before our eyes? Of all that has been written from the German point of view, your article, which we have presented to our readers in three installments, seems to me to be exceptional, almost unique, in its spirit of tolerance and understanding.

You may be amused to know that among the letters of protest that have come to us for the publication of your article there is in one the suggestion that it was paid for by the English! I am inclined to think that the writer of that letter was trying to make a joke.

Very sincerely yours,
ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

December 10, 1916.

Dear Mr. Abbott:

Thank you for your long and interesting letter of December 7. I should like to say one last word to you, if I may. You think my article exceptional, almost unique, in its spirit of tolerance and understanding. Do you know the reason? It is because I deeply love both Germany and America, and have the earnest will to understand. If I read anything a pro-Ally has written, or speak with one, I immediately put myself in his place and try to look at the situation through his eyes—and so I learn to understand him.

When I was in Germany, I was distressed at the complete lack of understanding of the American view-point, and here in America I am simply appalled at the same lack of understanding which I find in many thinking Americans. I cannot help respecting you for stating the opinion of The Outlook to me so clearly and without any "bitterness" and "venom." Bitterness and venom never convince or make converts or have any uplifting influence in life. Now, before ending, I should like to state my position as briefly as possible.

It seems to me that the very conception of the state as a moral force has given to German life a higher impetus and has stimulated the development of personality. The Germans are conscious of this, and to them it is not a spirit of tyranny but a spirit of free service. History has shown that wherever a real spirit of tyranny existed it was accompanied by moral and intellectual decay and degradation, while in Germany I see exactly the opposite. Therefore you cannot be surprised that there has come no widespread protest from the German people against a system of government which, on the whole, fulfills their just desires.

Very sincerely yours,
MARIE GALLISON.

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A RHYME OF FORSAKEN SHIPS

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

I

This is the way of gallant ships
  Our friend the Foe strikes down:
A thrust in the side, a reeling plunge,
  And the cries of men that drown;
And the cries of men in the street:
  "Good God! Another gone!"
And over her closes a blacker sea—
  The sea of Oblivion.

II

I have forgotten their names—
  We all have forgotten their names,
Though once into our eyes and our dreams
  They seemed to burn like flames!
How long? A day, a flying week,
  And, lo! the flame grew wan;
And hissing over it rolled the hungry
  Sea of Oblivion.

III

Last week I heard a name
  To make the graveyards quake,
For out of it like routed birds,
  Dead glories seem to break.
Off near Spain they sank her,
  In the first white light of dawn;
And Biscay's waters share the hulk
  With the sea, Oblivion.

IV

There was a ship from the Philippines;
  Brought low I know not where;
And a statelier ship and six good men
  Who bore the name we bear.
We gave the ships the headlines
  Which they who race may con,
And the men we gave sea-burial
  In the sea, Oblivion.

V

There was a ship off Malta,
  And a ship in the Red Sea,
And a ship in the Channel, and six on the shoal
  Under Nantucket's lee;
And one from whose heart the cry of children
  Rang like a clarion—
Quenched in the Irish Sea, and now
  In the Sea of Oblivion.

VI

Where is the wrath we bore?
  Where is the crushing pain?
Where are the vows we made the dead?—
  They shall not kill again!
The rising of the black tide
  Has covered them every one,
And drawn them silently under the oily
  Sea of Oblivion.

VII

The sea is a monstrous sea
  And it covers many a story;
And it swallows sails and flags and men
  And duty and dreams and glory—
And steersmen who forget
  The stars that led them on.
Oh, drifting Ship! Beware, beware
  Of the sea, Oblivion!

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BEHIND THE TURKISH BARRIER

AN INTERVIEW[1]

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

THIS was the longest professional interview of my journalistic experience; my friend from Turkey talked steadily on the one subject from ten o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock at night, with one hour's intermission; and then we resumed the theme for two hours the next morning, when the incomplete discussion was adjourned, to be resumed later. Now to compress into one brief article the high points of the interview.

This autumn my friend is out of Turkey, where he has spent more than a quarter of a century. To tell how he got out—an interesting story in itself—would be to tell whence he came, which would never do, since Turkey has a genius for bitter reprisals. I owe too much to this man to be the means of hurt to him or his. My first clear understanding of the Turkish question came one memorable night in Constantinople when I was a listener in a group comprising my friend, an official of the United States Government, the Constantinople correspondent of Reuter's, and a representative of Great Britain, all of them veteran specialists on the Near Eastern question. Of these four, the man who knew the theme best was my American friend. He seemed to think first in Arabic and then translate into English. He has a trick of illustrating his meaning by the familiar Arabic gestures. He it was who spoke the last word of the talk on the mysterious Druses and who gave the historical setting to the "Arabian Nights" tale of the Salonika Jews and how they have become, ostensibly, Moslems, until now they are in control of the Young Turk party.

Other and more personal debts I owe to this Yankee in Turkey. When I would have gone into Arabia with only a brace of automatic pistols for defense, he made plain by the story of one of his own narrow escapes why a rifle carried in plain sight on the saddle bow is almost indispensable. From him I learned the trick, which did me good service clear down into the deserts of Mesopotamia, of having target practice when making camp, for the benefit of inquisitive natives. What to look for when I went to Petra, and—only the initiated will understand this—what to look for, and where, when I rode a camel, I learned from his book of experience. With him amid the ruins of Phœnicia I discovered that the Crusaders were grave-robbers, and by him I was instructed in the merits of sweet lemons as thirst-quenchers in desert travel. He translated for me the Arabic slogans of the party of liberty and traced their roots clear back to the free soil of America.

So, because he really knows, and because he is possibly the last man out of Turkey, I interviewed for The Outlook this American who is the better patriot for being a wise internationalist. Our talk swept round the whole circle of Turkish affairs, from the inexplicable defeat of the British in Mesopotamia to their strange failure to enter Constantinople when it was open to them, during the Gallipoli campaign; from the revolt of the Arabs to the anti-Young Turk Movement in Anatolia; from the feud between Djemal Pasha, Governor of Syria, and the Germans, to the manner in which Enver Pasha has "dug himself in" with the Germans. Insults to America and Americans, death for even Moslem leaders, starvation for the people of the Holy Land, plague for soldiers and civilians alike, death in most dreadful forms for the Armenians, exact news concerning the progress of the Bagdad Railway, and startling forecasts as to the war's outcome, all were crowded into this comprehensive interview.

We talked first, and often, of Constantinople:

"Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey and Bedry Bey and Khalil Bey are the men now in control there. That secret governing group of Young Turks is still hidden far out of sight, but Khalil Bey is supposed to be of them. Enver Pasha has dug himself in with the Germans. More and more, as the Turks are showing their resentment toward his conduct of things, he is seeking safety by increasing German support.

"Constantinople is almost a Teutonic city. Germans are everywhere. Although the use of all languages except Turkish on public signs is officially prohibited, the city is placarded

[1] The man here interviewed is not "The Man from Constantinople" whose story Dr. Ellis wrote for The Outlook of December 8, 1915.—THE EDITORS.

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with German notices. (Did I tell you that, while the English language is prohibited in Turkey, the American language is permitted?) There are two great wireless stations in the city, one of which, though operated by Germans, is supposedly under the control of the Turkish Government. The other is German absolutely, with no pretense of Ottoman interference. There is a strong German garrison in Constantinople, which is Enver's measure of self-protection.

"Poverty? It is beyond words. People are literally dying of starvation in Constantinople, as in most other cities of the Empire. Soldiers' widows and orphans fare worst, perhaps; for while a pittance is given to the family of the living soldier, this ceases when he is killed. I have seen the people grow black in their faces from long-continued hunger. The poor have gone to a mission hospital and actually begged for the dish-water, hoping that they might get a few scraps. I have seen them working over the garbage for the bits of orange peel. After that the family saved all scraps and placed them in clean paper and left them where the poor could find them, instead of throwing them into the garbage-can. Night after night people would steal into our yard and beg for even a crust. Night after night we saw them in a dying condition, but had nothing with which to help them. We knew of entire families dying of typhus one after another. Some missionaries, in order to avoid the unpleasant notice of unfriendly officials, took women and children into the hospitals as patients and after feeding them up for a week or two had to send them away again. The Government buried the dead from disease and starvation at the rate of forty to fifty daily!

"For sixteen months the people have been gathering every possible plant and root that could be eaten. My native neighbor planted a few potatoes almost under our windows, but the starving people came by night and dug up the seed potatoes and ate them!

"Bread is sold by the Government on tickets—a capital device for getting all metal money into the hands of the authorities; and also for the extortion of bakshish. Practically the only money in circulation is this paper currency, printed in Germany." My friend then gave me for examination a twenty-piaster note, which almost any printer could duplicate. "This money has depreciated forty per cent, and is still going down. You can imagine the effect upon an already impoverished country.

"The 1915 crop was in good part lost, owing to the deportation of the Armenians at planting time. What was left, together with the 1916 crop, was commandeered by the army. It, too, is below normal, one reason being, in addition to the loss of men, the requisitioning of all the animals of the farmers. Instead of being a great storehouse of food for Germany, Turkey itself is going hungry. When I passed through Germany, the commonest question asked me by the officials who examined my passport was whether Turkey had plenty of food. I told them that the price of flour had increased eightfold, and that the poor people had sold even their cooking utensils in order to buy food.

"There is no commerce whatever, of course. Of sugar there is none; coal is almost entirely lacking. Oil is four dollars a gallon, and hard to get. Medicines are not to be had; one of the reasons for the spread of the plague in Turkey is the lack of medicines and the high mortality among the native physicians."

"Did you see much plague?"

"It is everywhere, both cholera and typhus. Plague camps for the soldiers were within a few feet of us at several halting-places on the journey. One hears in Turkey that half the army has perished from disease. We took all possible precautions, and were very fortunate, finding on us only one *Pediculus vestimenti*"—only the word he used to describe the busy little traveling salesman of the typhus plague was not Latin.

"Who are hardest hit? It is not easy to say. The Jews in and about Jerusalem who did not get away on the American war-ships are in a pitiable plight, because they look to the foreign mails for their support, and these have been closed. In all Syria it is estimated that from eighty to one hundred thousand persons have died either from acute starvation or from malnutrition. The situation grows worse daily. There will have to be relief from America if the people of the Holy Land are to be saved."

I hasten over the Armenian news; it was more of the same awful tale of deportation, outrage, and death. This summer the atrocities broke out afresh, especially among the Armenians who had secured work under the Germans at road-making and tunnel-digging.

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These, too, had to move on to the fate of their deported compatriots. My friend said that it is the opinion of himself and other Americans in Turkey that certainly less than twenty per cent of the deported Armenians, and probably not more than ten, have survived to reach their destinations. And over a million were deported! When the native Christians in one place wanted to carry food to an arriving horde of Armenian survivors, they were prevented by the Turks. The matter was carried up to the governor, who brutally answered, "These people were not sent here to live."

An American missionary who resides near one of the colonies of Armenians, and who has been made desperate by the scenes he daily witnesses, said to my friend, "Government or no Government, prison or no prison, if I can get hold of food or money, I'm going to feed these people."

"The man who has never experienced the stench of dead bodies in his nostrils, and who has never seen the emaciated corpses of the starved lying on the roadway, and who has never witnessed with his own eyes or heard from the lips of beholders, in all the plainness of Oriental speech, the foul-minded atrocities of the Turk, cannot understand why Americans in Turkey are ready to indorse any measures that will stop these horrors. Nor can we comprehend the indifference of America.

"Perhaps if you had seen a dying woman dig with her own hands a shallow grave and strive to cover herself in it, so that the dogs —who are full fed these days—might not get her body before death came, you would count this matter an urgent one."

At this point my friend let light in upon an interesting diplomatic situation. "Of course you know that Turkey refuses to allow the United States Consuls to send sealed pouches of mail to the Embassy at Constantinople, as is the immemorial usage. Consular mail is censored, just like everything else. The immediate reason is that the Turks do not want the stories of local conditions and atrocities to get out of the country through these official channels."

Here I delete certain vigorous observations concerning America's duty to uphold her National prestige abroad and to protect her nationals. The man ten thousand miles from American soil may be expected to see vividly and state strongly this principle. We have for many years allowed Turkey to take liberties with American dignity and rights which, if generally known, would have aroused our people to the highest pitch of indignation. The deaths of Rogers and Maurer, American missionaries slain at Adana in 1909, go unavenged. Some of us have not forgotten that at the siege of Van, more than a year ago, the American flag was riddled with Turkish bullets and Americans were fired upon by Turkish troops. The destruction of American property, by order of the Ottoman officials, has been on a scale that makes one wonder whether the fact of war justifies the United States in acquiescence in these latest outrages.

Honor is a delicate thing and has curious ramifications. Hear my friend explode: "The seal of the United States Government is supposed to be inviolable. When the consuls of the Allied nations left Turkey, their consulates were turned over to the United States Government. Protection of them became a duty of honor. So these consulates were officially sealed and guarded by the authority of the United States of America. They were a trust that could not be violated without shame greater than that involved in an affront to our Government directly. Nevertheless the Turks broke the seal of the American Government upon the French Consulate at Beirût and ravaged the archives that were under the solemn protection of the United States. Out of those files they secured the names of various persons in Syria, especially leaders in the Maronite Church, and straightway executed them as having been in correspondence with an enemy country. The American flag was not big enough to shelter those men, among them the most enlightened and influential citizens of the Lebanon."

There is a kink in the Turk's brain that turns him to reprisals and espionage. In the days of Abdul Hamid his spy system was like a shadow of death over the land. Now the news is that a horde of informers and secret police infest the country, especially at the centers of population. All mail entering the Empire is opened, and every clue that leads to any critic or enemy of Turkey is vindictively followed out, both against natives and foreigners. Nobody knows when his hour to become the object of suspicion will strike. This terrorism, amid a people wasted by war and want, is a form of "frightfulness" that is one of the most hideous of the ills that now stalk through the land.

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Not a scrap of paper was brought out of Turkey by my friend. The border examination looks well to that, with its meticulous examination of travelers, from the hair of their head, where tiny rolls of tissue paper might be concealed, to the soles of their feet, upon which maps may be drawn with invisible ink. "What they do to one reveals their own mind and methods," sententiously remarked this man, in comment upon the indignities he had undergone. No written memoranda were needed, however, for the most significant news of all—the two new "pans" that have been added to the "pan"-oply of this war.

"Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Arabia are today real movements in Turkey. There is a clear and formidable effort being made to bind all the Turks together as a unity, *independently of Islam*. It rather takes one's breath—doesn't it?—to attempt to conceive of a Turkey that is not dependent upon Mohammedanism for its law, its institutions, its standards, its power, its life. The Young Turks, who never were really good Moslems, have cut the Gordian knot of their difficulties over the faith by boldly projecting a nation that will separate Church and State. Instead of the religious tie, they will substitute the racial tie, rallying all Turks to the ancient tribal standards under which they grew into power. Freed of the fetters of the faith, they aim to subjugate the Arabs and the Christian peoples, and to deal by a strong hand with the old and reactionary Moslems.

"The rebellion of the Arabs, under the Shereef of Mecca, which has cost Turkey the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and also Jiddah, the Red Sea port thereto, has intensified the purpose of these radicals to separate the nation from all connection with the religion of the Prophet. They say nothing, naturally, of what it will mean to deprive the Sultan of all his spiritual offices and titles, as Commander of the Faithful. All of this, to my mind, is purely speculative, for I neither believe nor hope that there will be any Turkish Empire left after the war to become an experiment in Pan-Turanianism or anything else.

"As for the Arab rebellion, that has several causes. For years the Turks have been trying to repress the Arabs and to abolish the use of the Arabic language. Long before the war there was a deep unrest among the peoples of the Arabic-speaking parts of the Empire, including all Syria and Palestine, over the repressive measures of the Young Turks. For their part, the Arabs, who are Semites and fundamentally religious, have regarded with increasing disfavor their progressive rulers, whom they call 'infidels.' To them the religious bond is supreme. So, making an excuse of the hanging of a number of eminent Moslems by the Government, they have declared the independence of Arabia and have set up a separate nation, with the capital at Mecca, and with the Shereef of Mecca, a distant kinsman of Mohammed himself, as Caliph.

"This is not small, tribal politics. The fine Italian hand of Britain is behind it. King George rules over more Moslems than any other sovereign, and he cannot afford to take chances with another 'holy war.' So long as the caliphate, or headship, of Islam is vested in the Sultan of Turkey there is trouble in prospect for the British Moslem peoples. Therefore the British have fomented the Arabian revolt, less to make trouble for Turkey and for the Turco-Teutonic expeditions to Suez and Mesopotamia (though it will do that also) than to assure the spiritual headship of all Mohammedans to a place and a people that cannot be a menace to the '*Pax Britannica*.' Moslems everywhere will recognize the appropriateness of recognizing a Caliph who is seated at the Holy City of Mecca, and who is also, as the Law directs, of the Prophet's own blood."

From this tremendous news, with all its far-reaching consequences, it was an easy step to a discussion of the partition of Turkey after the war. My friend has clear-cut ideas, the summary, I gather, of the views of himself and other internationalists both in the Levant and in Great Britain. "Of course Britain will get Arabia and southern Persia. Only so can she safeguard the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. The Queen of the Waves must guard her waters. Likewise, since really high politics always regards the springs of action, she must assure the tranquillity and safety of her Moslem peoples. Therefore all the holy places connected with Islam—Mecca, Medina, Kerbela, and Nejef, and possibly also Damascus—will come under British suzerainty, if not direct rule. Incidentally, Great Britain will thus possess beyond all menace the great oilfields of southern Persia and of the lower Tigris Valley, as well as the immense agricultural tracts in Mesopotamia which are being opened by the Willcocks irrigation scheme.

"France will get at least upper Syria, and

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perhaps also Palestine, although the latter's prospects as an autonomous state, under the protection of the Powers, are good; for thus the Jews could fulfill their dream. Russia will have upper and eastern Asia Minor, and free access through the Bosphorus, if not control of Constantinople. Italy will have some of the littoral of Anatolia, as well as opportunity on the Ægean shores and some island acquisitions.

"One reason why it will be safe for Russia to hold Constantinople is that Britain is to have the sentinel islands of Mitylene and Lemnos, as well as Salonika. So, with Cyprus, Malta, Port Saïd, and Gibraltar in addition, she will still control the Mediterranean.

"By the way, General Townshend, the defender of Kut-el-Amara, is now a prisoner on one of the islands on the Sea of Marmora, and his wife has been permitted to join him. The other Kut-el-Amara prisoners are in Asia Minor, and Tokat, where Henry Martyn died, seems to be their objective. There has been considerable sickness among them."

Here we were back again among the fighting men and their doings. "There has been a deal of fine road-making in Turkey under the Germans. Prisoners and Armenians have been used for this. A new motor road has been laid through the Cilician Gates and around the head of the Mediterranean. There are two big gaps in the Bagdad Railway construction, one of forty-two kilometers at Bozanti, where the Taurus Mountains are being tunneled, and another of seventy-five kilometers at the tunnel through the Amanus Mountains. Army motor lorries supply the missing transportation over fine new roads. Some of these huge motor trucks have gone, loaded, all the way from Essen, in Germany, to Bagdad. What an 'ad' for some German motor manufacturer!

"All the military supplies for the armies in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and Syria are dependent upon this one line of communication with Germany. If the Allies should break it in the Balkans, the jig would be up with Turkey. The country is absolutely blockaded by sea and land, except where the railway from Europe enters. At present the end of construction on the Bagdad line is at Ras-el-Ain, or a little beyond; the tracks have crossed the Euphrates River, but they have not reached the Tigris. A decisive battle probably will be fought at Ras-el-Ain, where there is a great storehouse of supplies. Great Britain has made all things ready to retrieve this winter her defeat on the Tigris."

Which again brings us into the realm of prophecy, and that is a good place to stop, with the simple reminder that the Allies have an open road to Turkey from nearly all sides, and that they command the sea routes. Whereas Turkey has nothing; she is dependent upon her masterful confederate for every bullet she shoots, and every rifle that shoots it, and every pound of powder that is behind it. She does not manufacture a single steel rail or car or motor truck. Even the uniforms of her soldiers must come from Austria and Germany, from the European shoes to the new cap called the "Enverine," "Enver Pasha's one constructive contribution to the war." Disease has devastated the troops, and their foreign officers are hated and feared. Considering their handicaps the Turkish soldiers have made a wonderful record, but it cannot save their country from paying the price for their ruler's sins.

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AFTER THE ELECTION—A VOICE FROM THE WEST

BY JOSIAH POETON

The West had so much to do with the result of the elections that it ought to be permitted an equal amount of liberty in explaining itself to the rest of the country. That is one of the reasons why we are glad to publish this open letter from a California clergyman to Messrs. Hughes, Wilson, and Benson. Another reason is that in some respects Mr. Poeton presents a view that is not in accord with our own.

Since explanations seem to be in order, perhaps we may be permitted to give here the reason why we spelled democracy with a small "d" and Nationalism with a large "N," something which seems to have disturbed our contributor not a little. We spelled Nationalism with a large "N" to show that we were referring to a particular policy with regard to this Nation, the United States; we spelled democracy with a small "d" to distinguish it from the "Democracy" of a single party, and to show that we were referring to a general and fundamental principle. Mr. Poeton interprets this capitalization exactly topsyturvy.—THE EDITORS.

To Messrs. Hughes, Wilson, and Benson:

Gentlemen—A few weeks ago you occasioned me a lot of hard thinking. You were candidates for the office of President of the United States, and I was a prospective voter. It was very difficult for me to make up my mind which of you to vote for.

A few years ago I would have had no difficulty, for it never would have occurred to me that I should vote other than the Republican ticket. I had imbibed the idea before I came West that the term Democrat was tainted with the odium that attaches to rum, rags, and slavery, and that a Socialist was a pariah, an outcast. The fact that I came very near voting for a Socialist and did vote for a Democrat the other day indicates that I am not the man I was; while the further fact that hundreds of thousands of others were in the same position indicates that the country is not what it was.

Mr. Hughes, I wanted to vote for you more than I ever wanted to vote for any man I didn't vote for. You certainly are a fine, capable gentleman and a splendid public servant. You have a record behind you that is worth while.

You would have made, in many respects, an ideal President. You have the right sort of style, you would have demanded an efficient Administration, you would not have played politics overmuch. I believe you would have handled our foreign policy in a manner to have better suited the majority of our people. I never really liked President Wilson's policy in Mexico. My home is near enough to the border of that unhappy land for me to have seen some of the actual fighting over there from the window of the room in which I now sit, and I count some excellent Mexican neighbors among my friends. They don't like our policy, and I have never been able satisfactorily to account for it to them.

You are then entitled to ask me, if that is my position, why I voted for a man who has written notes instead of sending bullets, and who has twice invaded a foreign country seemingly without having accomplished any definite end.

The answer is indicated in the words of the editor of The Outlook, who seems to have been able to size up the feeling of the West in a very accurate manner. A few days after the election he said, "The Democratic vote of the Far West is an indication that the people of that region are less responsive to the spirit of Nationalism than they are to the spirit of democracy." That hit it about right.

That gentleman, however, failed to see the full meaning of the Western vote. His own peculiar point of view is illustrated in the fact that in writing that sentence he began the word Nationalism with a capital N and the word democracy with a small d. In the West we would not make that discrimination. And it is because of that we put Wilson through. Mind you, this letter comes from a county normally ten to twelve thousand Republican, which on November 7 reduced that majority to seventy-nine. San Diego County is really *the* county that re-elected Mr. Wilson.

Let me tell you, Mr. Hughes, just why we did it. We got the notion in our heads, right or wrong, that the application of the "Big Stick" policy to Mexico, no matter how lovingly applied, would mean the establishment of an order in that country that would stand for the exploitation of the natural resources

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of Mexico by the "big interest" people of the United States and Europe. We rather suspected that a good deal of the support that came to your candidacy came from persons who wanted Mexico restored to the same sort of thing that has bled that country heretofore, that has bled the working class of this country and still does, that has bled England and other European countries, and that has brought on the European war.

We see these forces dominant here, irrespective of what party is in power. We see our own country voting six or seven hundred millions of dollars for further military preparedness; we see Congress voting to the President a vast increase of personal power to enter into trade war with the rest of the world. We haven't protested much against that general policy because it seems to be so unpatriotic not to be prepared to lick somebody some time. But we have liked the principle of Mr. Wilson's stand against "dollar diplomacy," although the application of his principles along that line led to so much messiness in our foreign policy. It was, in part, because the President seemed to be somewhat pronounced against the use of force to back up exploitation that we voted to keep him where he is.

We are "progressive" in the West, Mr. Hughes. It makes us do some unreasonable things. We may progress backwards sometimes. We may be foolish or deluded. But true it is that it has become a rule with many people that when an issue comes up for decision they spend a nickel to purchase the Los Angeles "Times" or the San Diego "Union," or some other equally enlightened journal, note for what candidates and measures those papers stand, and then vote the other way. These papers have fought Governor Johnson (our next President, likely enough) for six or seven years harder than they have fought any kind of sin, and in consequence California has sent him to the Senate, on his way to the White House, with a majority of over two hundred thousand to the good. If only, Mr. Hughes, you could have said or done something that would have caused them to fight you tooth and nail, they would, by their opposition, have sent you to the White House four or eight years ahead of him. As it was, they supported you, and thereby killed you.

You certainly made a mistake, Mr. Hughes, when you failed to meet the Governor on your trip to this State. We can't find out whose fault it was, but it made it look as though the reactionaries had you well in hand, and it cost you the Presidency, which is a big price to pay for a mistake. Then that "Hughesette Special" lost you more than enough votes to defeat you. We got the idea that it was financed by Wall Street. That may have been all fiction; but, anyway, it smacked of presumption for a lot of women, no matter how eloquent or good-looking, who haven't yet got to the point at which they can persuade their own husbands of their competency in political matters, to come to a State that discovered the qualities of its women long ago to tell those same women how to vote. Next election we are going to send a real missionary train to teach your good ladies that if Nationalism is to be spelled with a capital initial the same honor should be accorded to democracy also. My seventeen-year-old girl will be of age then, and may be on that train.

Mr. Hughes, I still hate to think of myself as a Democrat. It bothers me when I wake up nights. I like the word Republican better. I got my initiation into "patriotism" by spoiling a new overcoat carrying a torchlight for Benjamin Harrison twenty-eight years ago, and have been spelling Republican with a capital R ever since. But you really ought to know that unless the Republican party shakes off the hold that monopoly, special privilege, dollar diplomacy, watered stock, and a whole lot of their kith and kin has on the party, you can count on the solid West lining up with the solid South for all time to come. The editor of The Outlook intimates that this would be a calamity. Perhaps it would. Death and taxes are calamities, but they seem to be most alarmingly certain. There's one idea that can't stand the trip across the divide, and that is that one must necessarily vote the Republican ticket because his grandfather did. There must be other reasons.

Now, Mr. Wilson, a word with you. You got my vote and I helped you get others. I didn't do this because I love you. I heard a lot of "Woodrow-Wilson-Women" trying to sing "I Love You, Woodrow Wilson," to the tune "I Love You, California," and it nearly made me vote the Socialist ticket. Give them a gentle hint if you desire a third term. No, I don't love you any more than I love Mr. Hughes or Mr. Taft—God bless' em!

If you have read what I have written to Mr. Hughes above, you know some of the reasons why California voted to put you back

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in the White House. But that isn't all there is to it. I came very near not voting for either of you, and if you don't look out, Mr. President, you won't get the West the next time. The West is traveling fast, and you are likely to be as far behind it four years from now as Mr. Hughes was a few weeks ago.

We voted for you, Mr. President, in spite of some serious mistakes you have made, because we believed you understood the internal economic and social situation better than your rival did, and that we could hope for more from you for *the people* than we could hope to get from him.

It is true that many people cast their ballots for you because you kept us out of war, but a larger number did so because they felt that you were a more promising champion of the people against special privilege and the resultant evils. We have sympathized with you in your trying situations in connection with the distressing conditions of Europe and Mexico, but if the only issue had been your foreign policy you would have been defeated. The laboring men in this State voted for you for much the same reasons that they have steadily supported Hiram Johnson. You have a remarkable people to deal with in the West, Mr. President, a people that can elect a Republican State Senate and Legislature, send a Republican to the National Senate with a quarter of a million votes behind him, and *at the same time* and *on the same ballot* give a substantial majority to a Democratic President. That's the kind of West you have to deal with. Pass it round to the bosses in your own party. Don't let them be too cocksure that they can always carry the West. We're Americans before we are either Democrats or Republicans, and, above all things, we don't calculate to stand still.

We voted for you, Mr. President, not because we love you, though we like you pretty well, but because we thought that by so doing we could teach the Republican party, our own party, that unless they became a People's party they might just as well give up the idea of having a President in the White House again.

We sent our Governor along to show them how to do it. He knows. He went into the Republican State Convention a few weeks before the election and stole the whole thing—hat, pants, and boots—from right under their noses. You're going to have a lively competitor in the next four years, but there's nothing we would like better than to see you beat him at his own game, unless it is to join hands with him, forget mere party politics, and do the right thing, as patriotic citizens, to make this country what it ought to be. If you don't either of you do it, or if you don't do it together, then you can count on our dropping both of you and doing something else.

We expect a good deal of you, Mr. Wilson, in the next four years. You did very well indeed for a beginner who was tied up with all sorts of pre-election obligations and with the second-term bogey to bother with. You're in for another four years, and you know that the more you try for a third term the less you are likely to get it. Go in and do something for the people, the real people. You started out pretty well four years ago, but when big business squealed you let up. We expect you to go through with the programme this time. Get Hiram to help if your majority in the House has gone by the board.

Perhaps you would like to know just what we want to have done.

Two years ago you wrote a Thanksgiving Proclamation calling on the people to go to church and thank the good Lord Almighty for filling our barns and granaries fuller than they had ever been filled before. We had, as you mentioned, more stuff to eat than the Nation could possibly consume. You might have added that the stores, warehouses, and factories were full of clothes, tools, implements, and everything else the people needed. There was plenty of coal, oil, and wood for all, and oodles of power waiting to be harnessed. There was no real reason why any one should suffer want.

But you will remember that during the succeeding winter a very large proportion of our people went hungry and cold. Babies died for lack of milk. The savings of our workingmen were dissipated and debts took their place. Three hundred and fifty thousand men and more than half as many women were out of employment in New York City alone. Three million were out of jobs in the United States.

Mr. President, the people were starving in the midst of plenty. Had it not been for "war orders," the distress would have continued. Periods of business depression are becoming alarmingly more frequent.

Our usual method of dealing with such a situation is to close the factories until the surplus has been sold, and then open the factories and create another surplus as fast as we can, and then depend on people out of work to buy the things for which they hold

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no purchase price. Mr. President, that's the biggest fool proposition of the ages.

When Mr. Taft—Honest Bill Taft—was asked what a man out of work should do, he said, "God knows, I don't." Two years ago, Mr. President, when you were waiting for the situation to solve itself, you said that the situation was "psychological." When on the stump before election Mr. Hughes said, "I have no panacea for the Nation's ills." And the people sent Mr. Taft back to Yale, Mr. Hughes to the Supreme bench, if he can get there, and you only were saved from going back to Princeton by the skin of your teeth.

In the future we are going to demand of Presidents a solution of just that problem. We are weary of seeing shoemakers' children going barefoot, of poultry-keepers' children living on an eggless diet, and of many of the toilers in the cities being housed and fed with less consideration than we give to hogs and horses.

Mr. President, everybody knows that the past three-quarters of a century has brought a development of inventive genius and industrial efficiency surpassing the summation of all progress along such lines during all the previous history of the world. Labor-saving devices have been multiplied, machinery has increased, enormous factories have been built. Gigantic machines plow up our vast prairies, and tireless harvesters reap a field in not much more time than our grandfathers used to spend sharpening their sickles or fixing cradles to their scythes.

We want to know why it is that slums, jails, poorhouses, lunatic asylums, and debtors' courts increase in just about such proportion as we make progress in production and manufacture. The greater the advance in science and efficiency, the more often people are compelled to go hungry and the more the homeless are multiplied in the land. We want to know why this is so, and we want to have it stopped.

Again, let me commend to your consideration another matter. It is this, that to a large extent the people who get most in this land of ours are those who do least to earn it. A picture in last week's paper showed a young boy who has been presented with an endowment of sixty-five million dollars. He did nothing for it, proposes to do nothing for it. He is one of an increasing number of men, boys, and girls who have the country's wealth without having rendered service. These include a goodly proportion of rakes, degenerates, and numskulls in their ranks.

Can you tell me just how it happens that in this land of professed *equality* and *fraternity* our power sites, our mines, our oil-bearing lands, our forests, and vast stretches of our cultivable lands are held by people who contributed to the State for them nothing in proportion to their real value, but who yet make the Nation pay enormous tribute to them for the privilege of getting at those gifts which the Almighty freely gave for the use of us all? Do you know why we permit one man or a small group of men to control the supply of any one product and then raise the price of the same to the consumer according to their pleasure? Do you know just why we permit persons who can't tell a grain of wheat from a squash to handle the stuff the farmers raise, and take to themselves the bulk of the real profit? Do you know why we allow five per cent or so of the people to control three-fourths of our National wealth, and that, in the main, they are the non-creators of wealth? And are you able to tell me, Mr. President, why I should pay three times the price for a bag of flour that I did when I first set up housekeeping?

We wanted you to talk about these things during the last campaign. If Mr. Hughes had dealt with them as an honest citizen should, he would have gone into the White House with a whoop. We voted for you, Mr. President, because we believed you had thought of these things even though you did not say much about them. We recognized that it was easier for you to talk about "True Americanism." We thought you would do better by us in the next four years than Mr. Hughes would, and gave you the chance.

But we respectfully warn you that these questions that are in our minds must be discussed. What is more, they must be dealt with. Unless you tackle them manfully, then your party will have to give way to some other.

Perhaps our Hiram will take them up. If he does, then he is our next President. We don't feel quite sure of him. We don't know just to what extent he can stand the blandishments and the conventionalities of the "effete East." If neither of you come up to the scratch, we will know what to do when the time comes.

We are thinking more deeply than appears on the surface. We are watching Europe. We know that we here are following a system

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of business that has put the hand of man against his brother's throat. We realize that we have been taking the necessary steps that will make certain our part in the next great world conflict. We have one hope, and that is that the lesson will not be wasted on this Nation. The terrific struggle in blood-stained Europe is causing a mobilization of men and means of a most startling nature. Staid English statesmen advocate in Parliament, sustained by a unanimous press, measures which would have been considered wild, revolutionary, and impossible if advocated by Hyde Park orators two years ago. It is said that revolutions never go backward. The world moves on. Are our politicians, trained in the old schools, able to discern the signs of the times?

The next ten years will witness an economic and social revolution in the leading countries of the world. Unless this country changes its institutions to meet the needs of the times, the revolution that will come to us will not be a bloodless one. We want Presidents, candidates for President, Senators, Congressmen, who can achieve by swift and peaceful means what is needed to make this country truly a country of the people. Our present policies make for internecine strife, for poverty, for crime. We must have that which makes for brotherliness, decency, universal prosperity.

Mr. Benson, you made a brave fight for the Presidency. The papers were against you. The money was against you. The prejudices of the people, not altogether without justification, were against the name under which you stretched your banner.

You have patiently waited for this last word. You were the only candidate that dealt with the most important issues. We are more interested in the question as to whether an American can establish a home in the United States than we are as to whether he can establish a home in Mexico. My idea of "true Americanism" is about like yours. It is that which does away with all graft, robbery, and gambling in this fair land of ours, in business as well as at the casino or on the race-track. I believe in that Americanism which says that no man shall have wealth he doesn't earn, that none shall oppress the poor, that says there shall be no poor to oppress, that would secure to every American child proper food, clothing, and education, and to every family a home.

Lots of us who are not Socialists came very near voting for you, but we were afraid that if we did Hughes would be elected and that would be too much of a triumph for the reactionaries. We thought we would give the old parties one more chance.

They have pretty nearly demonstrated their inability to solve the vital problems before the people. If they don't wake up to real business pretty soon, there will be no choice left us, so far as I can see, other than to give you folks a chance to show what you can do.

San Ysidro, California. After the Election.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

AN ARISTOCRACY OF PIETY

THERE is an aristocracy of blood in England; an aristocracy of learning in China; an aristocracy of wealth in America; there was in Puritanism an aristocracy of piety, nor was it confined to the Puritans.

The aristocracy of piety divides men into two classes: children of God, and children of the devil, sometimes more courteously called children of the flesh. Thus religion, which should unite men in one great brotherhood, is made to divide them into castes, represented by a wide and almost impassable crevasse. In the older Calvinism this crevasse is impassable; no man can bridge it. He who is on the wrong side of the crevasse can never pass over; he can be carried over only by an act of irresistible grace. Nor can he who is on the right side pass over to the wrong side; he cannot fall from grace.

The aristocrat of piety may pity his less fortunate neighbor, he may patronize him, he may even preach to him; but he does not fellowship him. He does not think that his

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neighbor on the other side of the crevasse has come from the same Father as himself; he does not call him a brother man. Brother is a word he reserves for the members of his own Church. Such an aristocrat was the Pharisee who, looking scornfully at the publican, prayed with himself and thanked God that he was not "as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." Such an aristocrat was the elder brother in the parable, who, resenting the return of his repentant brother, said complacently to the father, "I have never transgressed at any time thy commandments." The aristocrat of piety may walk with God, but he certainly does not walk *humbly* with God. He does not *let* his light shine; he flashes it.

This aristocracy of piety is as ancient as narrowness and self-conceit. The Jews believed that they only were the children of God, and that all pagans were the objects of his wrath. The mediæval Church taught a somewhat more generous conception of God. All who were baptized were his children, all the unbaptized were outside the pale of his mercy. In order that little children might not be excluded they were baptized, and the conceit of baptismal regeneration was invented—the conceit that putting water on an unconscious babe brought it within the range of God's love. Calvinism did not abolish altogether the boundary line within which the divine mercy was exercised, but made it an invisible line, and allowed that God might be merciful to Jews, pagans, and unbaptized persons, and even to little children, if they were elect. Methodism made the line still more vague by affirming that any one might cross it who really wished to enter into the charmed circle. In my boyhood Dr. Finney electrified the Middle States by preaching the doctrine that men could repent of their sins and accept the divine forgiveness and become friends of God, if they wished to do so. But still those who had not repented and did not seek forgiveness were no sons of his; they were outcasts.

I had supposed that this doctrine, which limits the love of God to a portion of the human race, as to the Jews or the baptized or the elect or the repentant, had pretty much disappeared from at least all of the Protestant churches. But an "Unknown Friend" has recently sent me a copy of the "Sunday-School Times" in which the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man is denied, and the doctrine that only Christians are the sons of God and only Christians are brothers is affirmed with an explicitness which leaves no room for misunderstanding. From this article I quote two sentences and one paragraph. The "Sunday-School Times" emphasizes its denial of the universal Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man by italicizing the two sentences which, in copying from the "Times," I also italicize:

"*There is no such thing as the universal brotherhood of man.*"

"*There is no universal Fatherhood of God. God is not the Father of all men.*"

"The natural brotherhood of human blood is the brotherhood of the family and fatherhood of Satan. The supernatural brotherhood won through the shed blood of Jesus Christ is the brotherhood of believers, who alone have entered into the family of God, and to whom alone he can become Father. There can be no brotherhood between those families whose fathers are respectively God and Satan."[1]

The writings of both the Old Testament and the New Testament, embracing almost every type of literature, and covering a period of over a thousand years, are made one book by their fundamental doctrine that man is the offspring of God, made in God's image, and in man, therefore, we are to look for the image of God; that God is a righteous God, who demands righteousness of his children and demands nothing else; and that he will help to a life of righteousness any one who seeks that help, however far he may have strayed from his Father's home. The whole Bible from cover to cover is an amplification, illustration, or application of these fundamental truths concerning man, God, and the relation between the two, together with the record of the growth of this truth in the mind of Israel, and the record of popular errors in violation of this truth which the prophets of Israel sought by their teaching to correct.

The Jewish Church is founded in the wilderness. Israel encamps at the foot of Mount Sinai. God gives to them the law, which may be summed up in these words: Reverence God, respect your parents, keep a little time sacred from the drudgery of life for rest and spiritual recuperation, respect the four fundamental rights of man—the rights of property, of person, of the family, and of reputation—and do this cordially from

[1] The curious reader will find the article in the "Sunday-School Times" for February 5, 1916, and a defense of the article in response to correspondence in the "Sunday-School Times" of July 1, 1916. These two articles give the Scripture texts on which this denial of the unity of the family and the universality of God's love is based.

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the heart and you shall be a nation of priests. Centuries pass away. Israel has not complied with this law, the nation is threatened with destruction, the peril grows imminent. They ask what they shall do, what religious sacrifices they shall offer, and the answer of Micah the prophet is, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" It is a repetition of the Ten Commandments. Reverence, fair dealing, human kindness, and sympathy; this, and nothing else. The nation is carried into exile. After seventy years, returning to its home in partly restored Jerusalem, the people again ask the question, What shall we do to enter into sacred fellowship with the most high God? The answer of the Psalmist repeats the message of Micah and of Moses: "He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully, he shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation."

The hint here contained, that the Father imparts a righteous character to him who by a clean life shows the sincerity of his desire for that gift, is emphasized by other Hebrew prophets. No man need carry with him as a burden the handicap of his past. The Father forgets it, blots it out as the sun blots the thick cloud out of the heaven. No man need imagine that his Father has forgotten him because the elect ignore him. "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us." No man need imagine that he has sinned past forgiveness or has polluted himself past all hope of cleansing. "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool."

Again centuries pass away, and Jesus Christ comes to find the simple teaching of the Old Testament overlaid with theological dogmas and ecclesiastical formularies. He begins his ministry by telling the people in the synagogue at Nazareth that God cares for the pagans as much as he does for the Jews, and illustrates that care by incidents taken from the Jewish sacred writings. The people mob him. Their violence only leads him to emphasize his teaching. He finds more faith in a pagan centurion than he has found in the orthodox Jews. He finds a better illustration of the Christian spirit in an apostate and heretic Samaritan than in the priest and the Levite hastening to the services of the Temple. He declares that God is the Father of the prodigal son no less than of the loyal son. He pictures the Last Judgment, and in it represents those blessed by his Father who fed the hungry and ministered to the sick and the needy, though they never knew the Christ or imagined that they were in his service.

To set aside this continuous, consistent, and harmonious teaching of the entire Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and defend such reversal of its teaching by quoting isolated sentences taken out of their connection and woven together to make an artificial system of theology, violates the fundamental principle of interpretation recognized alike by legal and historical scholars, that in any document its general spirit and teaching determines the meaning of its several parts.

This general teaching of the Bible—the universal fatherhood of God, the universal brotherhood of man, and that the conduct of life is the true test of character—is confirmed by the universal instinct of humanity. The New York papers the other day told the story of a fireman who climbed through flame and smoke three or four stories up a burning building by a frail ladder, transferred by his hands from one window to another as he climbed, until he reached a screaming girl upon the roof, and then, taking her, in a dead faint, in his arms, descended in like fashion, through flame and smoke, until with scorched garments and blackened faces he and his burden reached the applauding crowd below. Who in that crowd would venture to ask whether this man was a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, a Jew or a Christian, a believer or an agnostic? Laying down his own life that he might save the life of a perfect stranger, he manifested the spirit of him who laid down his life for us. To believe that God did not recognize in him a son is to dishonor God and discredit the universal witness he bears of himself in the hearts of his children.

Mrs. Stowe in "The Minister's Wooing" has dramatically portrayed the experience of anguish which the terrible doctrine of a partial God and a divided race produces in the sensitive soul of a loving mother who has been trained to think that this selfish and complacent creed is true:

> The number of the elect is so small we can scarce count them for anything! Think what noble minds, what warm, generous hearts, what splendid natures are wrecked and thrown away by thousands and tens of thousands! How we love each other! How our hearts weave into each other! How more than glad we should be

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to die for each other! And all this ends—O God, how must it end? . . . Oh, my wedding-day! Why did they rejoice? Brides should wear mourning—the bells should toll for every wedding; every new family is built over this awful pit of despair, and only one in a thousand escapes!

For sixty years I have been studying the Bible. In it I have found light upon every problem of our complex life—social, ethical, spiritual. For in it I have found the unveiling of God in the experience of man. From it I have learned that we are all his offspring made in his image. Into us all he has breathed the breath of his own life. He walks with us incognito; present with us, though unseen; speaking in us, though his voice is not recognized. Our repentances are his rebukes; our aspirations are his invitations; our hopes are his encouragement. Known or unknown by us, he is always our Great Companion, our best Friend. Like the prodigal of the story, one has only to come to himself in order to return to his Father.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-Hudson.

A PLEBISCITE IN ALSACE-LORRAINE

BY SANFORD GRIFFITH

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

ALTHOUGH any discussion of detail concerning claims of the people of Alsace-Lorraine would be distinctly premature, none the less questions relating to the general policy toward these border provinces have been raised on both sides of the Rhine. What is the attitude of the German people toward this Reichsland? What is the popular feeling in France toward the reintegration of these separated sisters into the *Mère Patrie?*

Since the declaration of war Alsace has been a closed book to the world. Travel except for urgent business is forbidden to those without and to those within. We know of the flight of many so-called Nationalists—French sympathizers—and of the arrest and internment of many more. The property of Alsatians who failed to heed the summons to return within a given date has been sequestered. All towns within the war zone and many outside have been evacuated. Hundreds of Alsatians have been transported to towns or camps in the interior of the Empire.

The civil police régime, oppressive in time of peace, has become almost intolerable as now accentuated by military control in time of war. An incautious word may be denounced, and in every case leads to a heavy sentence. More than once a German officer has told me, "We have to take the same precautions in Alsace as on the soil of the enemy."

But the word passed around to the German press is that "peace reigns in Alsace." Except for occasional comment in the "Frankfurter Zeitung," there has been little in the German papers to suggest that there is any friction in Alsace, or that there exists any Alsatian question. When raised, the reply commonly is, "The Alsatians have fulfilled their duty, like all other Germans." The Social Democrats, too, find this a convenient assumption. There is no Liebknecht nor Bebel, as in '71, to recognize any particularist rights for an unhappy people. On several occasions since the war I have shown the tactlessness to bring up this question with members of the party. Their replies were generally rather embarrassed and ambiguous.

Among the foremost of the Radicals on the extreme left in the Reichstag is Dr. Lentsch. He condemns the French comrades who, with Sembat, "talk of a dismemberment of Germany, and who place themselves on record in support of a policy of *revanche.* All this is because Sembat proclaims a free return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and a consultation of the people." Then this hide-bound Radical Herr Lentsch out-Treitschkes Treitschke by declaring "such an illusion which presumes that an adjustment of such historic importance can be accomplished by the ballot in a capitalistic society such as ours should be thrown to its proper place—the junk heap." If such, pray, is the value of a vote, how does Dr. Lentsch justify himself for being in the Reichstag? He then speaks for his party. "The German Socialists will oppose with firm resolution any effort to tear Alsace-Lorraine from the Em-

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pire. That there are those in these border provinces ready to throw themselves in the arms of the French is an illusion." It must be true—Dr. Lentsch affirms it!

Gothein, also a Radical in the Reichstag, unconsciously declared a principle which if applied inversely would work in direct contradiction with German policy. "We Germans can consider ourselves very well satisfied that French pacifists, in event of victory, would not let the Alsatians have a right to vote and dispose of their own existence. They must indeed have little hope in the result of such a vote. What concerns the French are not the rights of man but only their revenge and the increase in their power." Would Gothein turn this the other way and say that, unless Germany recognizes the rights of the Alsatians to express an opinion concerning their future, the Empire as much as confesses that there is no kindred feeling between them?

What have the Alsatians to expect from a victorious Germany? From the discourses of Government leaders, there is no indication of any intention to open the Alsatian question. Even in the most liberal circles, despite a certain inclination to talk of freedom of peoples, it seldom goes to the point of concrete application in so far as Alsace is concerned. During the last half-century the people of these border provinces have enjoyed few concessions from the Empire. From a victorious Germany they would have scant reason to expect more.

The attitude in France is that the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the *Mère Patrie* is the *sine qua non* of any peace. More than this is an idea which has become current that these provinces are an integral part of France, only cruelly separated for a time, but now to be taken back into the fold. "For us to consult the population of Alsace-Lorraine as to their wishes would be as superfluous as to consult the people in the invaded departments of the north of France whether or not they want to come back." This seems to be the official view, and is certainly that approved in most influential circles—the universities, commercial and industrial centers. More than this is the support given it by the so-called Alsatian Nationalists (the former Catholic Alsatian Center), represented in France by Preiss and the Abbé Wetterlé. I have talked with Wetterlé over this very question, and am convinced that his desire to see Germany punished and his hatred of all pro-Germans in Alsace make him lose sight of some of the primary rights of his people. This idea of a reintegration and not annexation is as if these past forty-five years could be arbitrarily stricken off the calendar, and as if, for example, the three hundred thousand Germans who live there did not exist. Its simplicity is only in abstraction.

To deny the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine a voice in their future would be to disregard one of the fundamental principles of the French Republic—freedom for small peoples. Were a vote taken in Alsace, I am convinced that a majority of the people would choose to return to France. But this is another question, and one apart from the political principle involved. Freedom for the oppressed, a reawakening of the old Revolutionary tradition, is the inspiration of many French liberals in this war. The Socialists use the expression daily in their press. Jean Longuet, grandson of Marx and editor of "L'Humanité," declared vigorously:

"I am in accord with the recent Socialist convention in London for the consultation of those interested—that is to say, the people of Alsace-Lorraine. If the desire to be French did not exist, we would have absolutely no right to dispose of them against their will."

Looking at the plebiscite as a practical issue, its necessity is obvious. In 1871 Germany denied the people of Alsace a voice in their lot. Since then the sympathies of the world have been with this unhappy people. To-day, were the vote disregarded, there would be a repetition of history. Germany would say, "See the poor Alsatians tied to France against their will," and there would be sufficient opposition in these provinces to give color to the reproach. Grumbach, an Alsatian Socialist, makes an eloquent appeal, first to Germany, then to France. In the first, that heed be paid to the wishes of the people, he confesses that he has not great hopes; but in the second he says: "If they are republicans who respect the political liberty of the individual, they are under obligation to demand a consultation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Not with fear nor with unhappy hesitation will they do this, but frankly and with an enthusiasm inspired by the firm conviction of accomplishing an act of political wisdom, an act which will give to Alsace, to France, to Germany, and to all of Europe a rare example destined to be a stepping-stone to a higher democracy."

Paris, France.

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TWO BOOKS OF VERSE

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE

THE "New Poetry Series" is largely experimental; its hospitality to adventurers in verse commends it to lovers of the art which more adequately than any other save music expresses the human spirit in the whole range of its experience and endeavor. The decline and disappearance of poetry as a literary form has been a standard article of faith in some literary creeds for two generations. Fifty years ago, when the scientific movement was in its early and enthusiastic stage, there were many predictions that literature itself had run its course and that henceforth men were to live by knowledge and dismiss the dreams of the imagination; that the age of reason had at last arrived and the fairy tales of the poets would henceforth go to the back shelves. The only novel future generations would tolerate would be the novel of fact. The drama, it was pointed out, had already had its day and become as extinct as the prehistoric monsters.

But the prophets of evil have suffered a disastrous eclipse. Literature survives in all its forms, and the works of the old masters, instead of going to the rubbish sales, are printed and reprinted in innumerable editions and distributed in every conceivable form; it is true that the novels of fact are read if they do not sacrifice reality to realism, but the later romanticists practice the old art and command the old success; the drama has had a new birth in the interest of writers and readers as well as of lovers of the theater, and the present generation of prophets has raised the cry that it will soon expel the novel; while the making of verse threatens to become a popular industry. The "New Poetry Series" is not a desperate device to attract attention; it is a recognition of a widespread interest as well as a growing activity. Published in a form which suggests the magazine, these well-made, low-priced books evidence a vital impulse, a popular demand, and a feeling that poetry is not the recreation of the highbrow, but of the man who must run as he reads.

Rawness and crudity, not so much of technique as of taste, stamp a good deal of this current verse; some of its practitioners are mistaking lawlessness for liberty, formlessness for originality, and the new freedom which they vociferously claim turns out to be a mere assertion of the mob spirit. Discordant cries and uncouth tones are as empty as the most mechanical mid-Victorian jingles and more offensive to the ear. But these "battle cries of freedom" do not drown the voices of a new springtime; there are fresh voices and tones of deep and vital sweetness in the air. The qualities which give this new poetic activity its charm and its significance are fresh feeling for the beauty in familiar things, intimate joy in nature and in human relations, sensitiveness to the image and the meaning of the symbol. "Mothers and Men"[1] is a first venture in verse, and its notes are struck in the title. Mr. Pulsifer has opened a vein of deeper love than young poets often find, in his celebration of the love that waits and serves at the threshold and blesses life with the serene devotion, unselfish in its selfishness, which is deeper than passion. In the eyes that are celebrated in these verses there is that which brings men to their knees and sends them on the voyages of honor and duty and service rather than on the adventures of passion. There is passion here, but it is the passion of one in whom stirs the sense of loyalty to the one woman who brings each to the gate of life, and makes him aware that love and pain are akin, because love is not fulfilled unless it is sacrificial. In this love the divine love is imaged:

"IN THE MANTLE OF GOD

"I pray to a God with a woman's face.
(My mother's face is wondrous fair!)
The wide world is an altar-place,
And love-in-life the only prayer.

I work for a God with a woman's hands.
(My mother's hands are cool and strong!)
I sing for a God who understands
The worker's work and the singer's song.

I live for a God with a woman's eyes.
(My mother's eyes have made me whole!)
The very walls of paradise
Are compassed in a single soul!"

In this celebration of woman, the creator, virgin in her purity and divine in her mother-

[1] Mothers and Men. By Harold Trowbridge Pulsifer. The New Poetry Series. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 50c.

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hood, the song flows on into a celebration of the manhood that courts no ease and knows no fear. The "Conquest of the Air," a prize poem at Harvard, has a daring as bold as the magnificent achievement which it celebrates:

"Soaring from the clinging sod,
First and foremost of my race,
I have met the hosts of God
Face to face:

Met the tempest and the gale
Where the white moon-riven cloud
Wrapt the splendor of my sail
In a shroud."

The impulse which gives the lines on "The Riderless Horse" their moving appeal—

"Close ranks and ride on!
The banner he bore
For God and the right
Never faltered before.
Quick, up with it, then!
For the right! For the light!
Lest legions of men
Be lost in the night!"

is not dead in the American heart, and young men still hear and answer that bugle call, as Mr. Pulsifer's college mates have answered it in the sky of France. Such poems as "The Lusitania" and "Clarion" need no foot-notes; they breathe the spirit which the Nation, bidden to deny the impulse which is its very soul, has made eloquent on fields where our battles are being fought by others.

"Mothers and Men" shows little of immaturity in substance or in form; its unabashed tenderness and its enthusiasm are not blurred by unfinished workmanship. It is a heartening book for those to whom the earliest and oldest form of love and the patriotism that does not take count of the cost are dear.

Mr. Shivell is fortunate in the friends he has made; Mr. Norton and Mr. Gilder were keenly interested in his verse, and Mr. Bliss Perry cared so much for it that he asked permission to make a selection from it to bring to the attention of a wider circle of readers. The widest circle of readers would find delight in "Stillwater Pastorals and Other Poems."[1] Its author, Mr. Perry tells us, is a real farmer who has made excursions in other fields, and Stillwater lies east of "Spoon River" and southwest of "North of Boston." There are reminders of both these localities in the volume, but there is no imitation. The poems are almost autobiographic in the distinctness of the individuality they disclose. Mr. Shivell's sonnets, of which there are many, do not read like sixteenth-century devices to enable a man to pour out his heart while keeping its secrets inviolate; they are obviously sincere and candid in their naïve assertion of the right to speak and the certain expectation of being heard in due time. This assertion is too frank to suggest egotism; it is the proud simplicity of the man who believes that the human voice is the voice of God:

"Bear thyself nobly and feel free to speak!"

If this is egotism, it rests not on belief in individual gifts but on faith in racial greatness. It reminds one of Emerson's superb confidence in the authority of the human spirit. Such a confession of ambition as this sonnet is taken from the unpublished liturgy of great souls:

"IF I COULD TELL

"If I could tell what beauty I behold
In this wild world so wonderful to me,
The pale moon brightening o'er the twilight sea,
Where ages heave and sigh—could I unfold
How ships give up their sunset white and gold,
Blending themselves in blue immensity,
The sweet stars how come forth, how fair they be,
What secrets to my heart the deep hath told,—
Could I instruct one backward human being
In the Love lore that in my soul I feel,
My inmost spirit yearnings could impart,
Could but half utter what so many seeing
See not, because to them Heaven is not real,—
My God, could I but bless one human heart!"

The reader looks in vain in this book of verse for the egotism, the straining for novel effects, the self-conscious defiance of moral and literary conventions, which disfigure some of the newest poetry. He finds harsh lines, crude rhymes, unpoetic phrases; but he is consoled by passages of pure poetic quality, by the reserve of perfect simplicity, by that confidence in the undying interest of common things, of the experiences which furnish the universal language, but whose inner and secondary meaning only the pure in heart understand, for they alone see God. Mr. Shivell says that "poetry bothers most people," but this verse will bother no one who loves the poetry that is born, not of other poetry, but of nature and life. What

[1] Stillwater Pastorals, and Other Poems. By Paul Shivell. The New Poetry Series. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 75c.

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could be more authentic than "Winter Morning"? The simplicity has the touching pathos of life; it has the quality of "The Cotter's Saturday Night."

"WINTER MORNING

"I rise and look out at the window, Love,
And all the stars are shining. While I dress
Lie thou and take thy needful morning sleep;
And I will tiptoe downstairs with the lamp,
And build the kitchen fire, the table set
For breakfast, and our patient creatures greet
With lantern in the stable where they chew
Meekly their fodder. Frosty are the nights,
Wholesome and stinging cold. When the room's warm,
Or when thou wilt, come down and dress thyself
By jealous lamplight, yellow in the dawn,
Leaving the wee ones to surprise us late,
When from their natural rest, bewilder'd half,
They wake and rub their sleepy eyes, looking
For us. Then they'll grope down, and smile 'Good-morning,'
And dress before the kitchen fire, and eat
Their porridge from their little porringers.
So we'll begin another busy day,
With thankful hearts lifting our prayer to Heaven:
That thus may we ever be honest people,
And bring our children up to work and play
Contentedly and in the sight of God."

THE READER'S VIEW

THE STONEMEN, THE THIRD DEGREE, AND CHURCH ORDINATION

In the statements in The Outlook of September 27 about "The Stonemen" it seems that a vital point was overlooked, namely, that members of other communions than the Protestant Episcopal, by submitting to the "laying on of hands" by a Protestant Episcopal bishop, surrender to a rite that is at the very center of the controversy between the Episcopal Church and other churches. The Episcopal Church claims that to have a properly constituted Church there must be bishops in the line of Apostolic succession, and that no minister is properly ordained unless ordained by bishops, and that no layman is properly received into the church as a member unless confirmed by a bishop. The Protestant churches in general deny this as an unproved theory.

When an Episcopalian is initiated into the third degree of the Stonemen, he does not need the "laying on of hands," since he has already been confirmed by a bishop. If he is a member of another church, the bishop's hands are laid on him, as in confirmation, and he is by this act given the privilege, not only of communion in his order, but of partaking of the Lord's Supper as administered in the Episcopal Church. The inevitable implication of this act, in spite of softened phraseology in accompanying statements, is that as a member of the Methodist Church, for instance, this man had not been rightfully and fully prepared to partake of the holy communion. Also, a corollary is that the Methodist minister who had first received this man into the church was not rightfully authorized and equipped to do so and to administer the Lord's Supper. This is the heart of the matter. If it were not, there would not be insistence upon the "laying on of hands" by those in charge of the Stonemen's movement.

All self-respecting members of other churches, all who believe their own churches to be true churches and their ministers true ministers, ordained and duly authorized to administer the sacraments of the Christian Church, should look at this matter clearly. They should honor their own churches and their own ministers by remaining loyally in their own communions, and they should decline to have any part in the third degree of the Stonemen, which, in effect, makes them members of the Episcopal Church.

Certain groups of people in the Greek Church have come under the Roman Catholic rule in the following way: The Roman Church has allowed them to retain their own liturgy and language in their services, their married clergy, and practically all their own ways and customs, on one condition—namely, that they acknowledge the Pope as the head of Christendom. These Uniates are now Roman Catholics, although they are as they were before save on one point. They are Roman Catholics because they have acknowledged the Pope as the Vicar of Christ.

The Stoneman who takes the third degree of his order, being confirmed by the laying on of hands of an Episcopal bishop, actually becomes an Episcopalian, no matter what he calls himself or what church he attends. Every Episcopal bishop and every rector in America knows this. Apparently this knowledge is not in the minds of some of the Stonemen themselves.

The Congregational clergyman quoted in your article states: "If it were a prerequisite that I should be confirmed [in order to join the Stonemen], I see no reason why I should not make this concession to the peculiarity of ritual in that body, thus accomplishing church unity in a

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practical way." Since the Episcopal Church makes this rite the vitally necessary one for church membership, and since the Congregational Church for ages has contended against such mechanical theory of the Church, there is every reason why a Congregational minister should decline to surrender to Episcopal claims.

Assume that the founder of the Stonemen had been a Roman Catholic priest. Assume that the third degree of the order involved the acknowledgment of the Pope as the Vicar of Christ. Would this clergyman "see no reason why he should not make this concession to the peculiarity of the ritual in the Roman Church, thus accomplishing unity in a practical way"? If he were so initiated, he would be practically a Roman Catholic even if nominally a member of the Congregational Church.

Every member of another communion who becomes a third-degree Stoneman strengthens in so far the unproved and unprovable claims of the Episcopal Church that the rite of confirmation by a bishop is vital. No man should do this unless he is ready to go as far as this theory leads—that is, to acknowledged and open membership in the Episcopal Church.

A point on which many persons would like to have light in this controversy is whether or not Stonemen confirmed by an Episcopal bishop are reported in the records of the Episcopal Church. It should be definitely ascertained if the third-degree Stonemen are counted in the list of gains by the Episcopal Church. What makes a Roman Catholic? Acknowledgment of the Pope. What makes an Episcopalian? Confirmation by an Episcopal bishop. Are third-degree Stonemen unconsciously Episcopalians? If so, are they so rated?

Glendale, Ohio. CALVIN DILL WILSON.

[In one respect—and that vital—the writer of this letter is in error. Admission to communion in the Episcopal Church is not confined to those who have been confirmed by a bishop. The Congregational clergyman quoted in this letter has himself, as we know, not infrequently partaken of communion in an Episcopal church, and that without confirmation. There is, moreover, a fundamental distinction between acknowledging the Pope and participating in a rite. In the one case there is a specific acknowledgment of a principle; in the other case there is simply the participation in a common act, which may be, and as a matter of fact is, variously interpreted, and does not commit the participant to a principle in which he does not believe.

The same thing might be said in regard to the matter of immersion. If there were real unity and comradeship within the churches to be obtained by the joining of an order which called for immersion, participation in the rite of immersion as admission to that organization would not be of itself a reflection upon the validity of any other form of baptism.—THE EDITORS.]

HOW ARE THE WELL-TO-DO TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN EFFICIENTLY?

Here is a man brought up on a New England farm where industry, efficiency, and economy were the daily drill, with the accompaniment of abundant physical exercise and plain food. This man, as is typical among a great majority of present leaders in the community, finds himself with abundant means to buy everything that can be purchased with money for his children, yet they are in a household where no work is required of them and their disorder and litter is put instantly in order by unobtrusive, efficient servants who act, so far as the children's observation goes, like the sun and wind in bringing the recurring seasons.

The public schools, which, we are told, are the best in the country, teach the children principally Chinese memorizing to the accompaniment of rounded shoulders and bad air. The physical exercises of the ball team are reserved for the dozen or twenty out of a thousand who need it least. The others sit on the benches and cramp their lungs watching.

These children are just as active and eager to build things as their forebears, provided they had the opportunity and encouragement that their forebears had, but all the neighbors' children are from the same class, and their fathers and mothers cannot work with them all day long building things; and without some example or leadership of this sort they cannot be made to do useful things that will demonstrate to them that somebody has to work for everything that is produced.

As to the private schools, investigation proves on the average that the teachers are less efficient than in the public schools, and the opportunities for acquiring dexterity of hand and brain are no greater.

There is every force working to carry out the old New England traditions of three generations from overalls to overalls, and with the elimination of unfair privilege, for which every right-minded progressive is working, this transition should be more certain than heretofore.

A classmate of the writer at the Polytechnic School, having this matter very much at heart, moved to a wilderness on the Pacific coast to re-enact the experience of his forefathers. He cleared the land and built his cabin; but his wife, a cultivated woman, died in the process, and his three sons ran away from home, about one hundred miles through the woods, to get to the city at the first opportunity.

N. MARSHALL.

West Newton, Massachusetts.

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BY THE WAY

The holiday season is an appropriate time for retelling the story of John Wesley and the close-fisted steward. "Make all you can," cried Wesley in one of his outdoor sermons. "Amen!" exclaimed the thrifty steward. "In the second place," said Wesley, "save all you can." Again an enthusiastic "Amen!" "And in the third place," said the exhorter, "I say, *give* all you can. Give all you can to every worthy cause." "There now," wailed the disappointed steward, "he's gone and spoilt it all!" This is perhaps the best time of the year to "spoil" one's saving propensities for the sake of helping some good cause or adding joy to the lot of some unfortunate.

The Berkeley (California) high school Greek Club has started a bi-weekly paper in the Greek language. The first issue consists of four pages with an insert—the latter being the menu, in Greek, used at a banquet given by the Club in celebration of the new achievement. This periodical is said to be the only Greek paper published in the United States by a high school. It was printed from type purchased by the Greek Club, on a press owned by the school.

What is a "horse power"? Has it any relation to the pulling power of a horse? A contemporary answers the question thus: "If a horse walks two miles per hour and hauls a load which requires 131 pounds pull to haul it, the horse will be developing one horse power. It is also sometimes figured that a horse will pull about 1-10 of his own weight. In actual work, a horse would be working too hard to develop one horse power for ten hours a day. . . . It must be remembered that many horses can develop as high as five or six horse power for short periods of time."

The eight-hour day seems to be pretty well established in New York City for the domestic helpers known as "day workers;" they come at 8 A.M. and leave at 5 in the afternoon, with an hour for lunch. This advertisement seems to foreshadow a still shorter day:

JAPANESE, expert cook, butler, useful, five hours' work daily; wages $20; willing, capable, experienced; excellent English; reference. Address Shimi, etc., etc.

The tragedy of Lincoln's assassination was brought to the minds of multitudes by the announcement of the death on December 5 of Colonel William Withers, leader of the orchestra in Ford's Theater in Washington the night the President was shot. Colonel Withers was stabbed by the assassin as the latter was making his escape. Colonel Withers gave the police the details of the tragedy and named Booth as the culprit.

"Collier's" publishes an amusing cartoon showing a brewer, a saloon-keeper, and a bartender weeping as a figure labeled "Michigan" leaves the saloon door to look at the rising sun of "Prohibition." The caption, parodying Tennyson's familiar lines, reads: "You bet there'll be some moaning at the bar when I put out to see!" "Collier's" says that "Michigan" might just as well have been called Nebraska or South Dakota or Montana, for all four States went dry on November 7, but that the most significant thing about the situation is that cities such as Seattle and Denver also on that date said good-by to the saloon.

A woman who had lived through momentous periods of European history, the Dowager Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, died the other day at the advanced age of ninety-seven. She was a granddaughter of George III of England. Born in 1819, she was married at twenty-four, and outlived both her husband and her son, who were successively Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

The new Pennsylvania Railroad grain elevator at Baltimore, a subscriber writes, will outclass the one at Girard Point, Pennsylvania, mentioned on this page a few weeks ago. The Baltimore elevator can accommodate five vessels five hundred feet in length at one time. Dock spouts, each capable of spouting 40,000 bushels an hour into a ship, are located every sixty feet along the side of the pier. It is not claimed for this elevator that it is "the largest in the world," but merely that it is worthy of note even in a country distinguished for "big things."

According to an offical report, twelve hundred Indians from the Canadian reserves have enlisted for active service in the war. Indians at the front, it is said, have proved themselves excellent riflemen and possessed of great powers of endurance. Last year Indians contributed over $7,000 to war funds, and Indian women have been noteworthy contributors of knitted socks, mufflers, and other comforts for the soldiers.

A friend writes to The Outlook expressing his astonishment that another journal should publish an advertisement of a new kind of playing card having a peculiar mark on the back to tell the initiated what is on its face. To him this suggests the gambler's marked cards. The cards, however, it seems, are patented, and the patentee claims that they are perfectly fair, because the players all know that they are marked and try to outdo each other in reading the face from the back. Apropos of this, it may be remarked that a request to see these cards in one of the largest department stores of New York City resulted in the statement that "no playing cards of any kind are sold in this store." The reason given was that the proprietor, whose name is a household word, has always regarded cards as dangerous playthings.

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